

A New Epic Fragment on Achilles' Helmet?¹

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Abstract

Edition of a small scrap from the Princeton collection containing fragmentary epic hexameters, ascribed to the cyclic *Aethiopis* of Arctinus or the *Little Iliad* on the basis of its contents, which most plausibly involve the death of Achilles (with possible echoes of that of Penthesilea).

This small fragment from the Princeton collection preserves a lovely sloping oval hand whose uncials are roughly bilinear but tiny – typically in the vicinity of 3 mm tall. The uprights of *kappa* (ll. 5; 11) and *iota* (ll. 3; 7; 10) are occasionally adorned with a decorative serif, and the loops of *omicron* and *rho* are particularly small (a mere 1-1.5 mm), but the hand is otherwise consistent with the “formal mixed” style described by Turner, with narrow *epsilon*, *theta*, *omicron*, and *sigma* but comparatively wide and squat forms of *pi*, *eta*, *nu*, and *mu*.² The label “formal,” however, is not exactly ideal; close parallels are found in the small, rapid hands of the latter half of the second century (occasionally termed “informal” by their editors), to which date and category I would assign this hand as well.³ So broad are the shapes of *eta*, *nu*, and *pi*, in fact, that they

¹ I am happy to acknowledge the support of the American Council of Learned Societies and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for the New Faculty Fellows award under whose auspices this research was undertaken, as well as the cooperation of Dr. Don Skemer, the Curator of Manuscripts in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections at Princeton University's Harvey S. Firestone Memorial Library. I note as well particular debts to Richard Janko and Jay Reed, my correspondence with whom in February and March 2011 produced a number of suggestions that were instrumental in shaping this article. For further criticisms and an important reading, I am grateful to the journal's editors and its anonymous referee. Any errors that remain are my own.

² Turner, *GMAW*² 22.

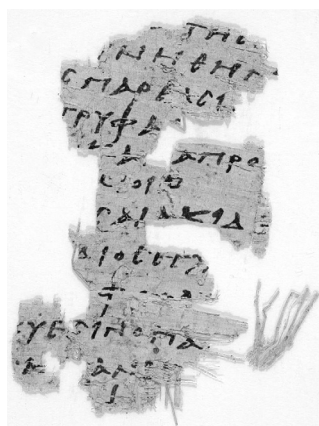
³ See, for example, *P.Oxy.* 15.1788. Similar scripts are found also in *P.Oxy.* 17.2078 (“a small sloping hand of an informal, rapid type”); *P.Oxy.* 17.2082; *P.Oxy.* 27.2452; and *P.Mich. inv. 3* (C. Bonner, “A Papyrus of Dioscurides in the University of Michigan

are potentially mistaken for one another: as regards the former two letters, the slope of the hand makes it difficult to distinguish whether the angle of the crossbar is horizontal or slightly diagonal.⁴ As regards *eta* and *pi*, moreover, where the upper portion of the letter is obscured, the letters are nearly identical; due to their respective squatness, where traces above the crossbar are abraded or invisible (as in l. 10), it is difficult to tell them apart. The text is written with the fibers (→).

P.Princ. inv. AM 14601A H x W = 5.7 x 3.1 cm

Oxyrhynchus (?)

Late II CE



(courtesy Princeton University Library)

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] . τηç . [] . τηç . [
] . νηθηγ[κ[ινηθηγ[αι
]σπαρεασι . []σ παρέασιγ [
]τρυφα . [] τρυφάλ[εια
] . κα . απο[5] . καλὰ προ[
]μοιο [		πολέ]μοιο [
]σαιακιδε[]σ Αιακιδε[
]διοσεγγ[]διος ἐγγ[οσ
]φ . . . []φ . . . [
]ευνε . ινοπα . [10	σκ[ευνεцин οπα . [
] . κ[. .]αν . . [] . κ[. .]αν . . [
]φ []φ [
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- 1] . , trace of a horizontal at lower letter height along edge of papyrus as of α, δ
- 1 ç . [, lower half of lunate letter as of c, θ, ε; fleck of ink at lower letter height
- 2] . , trace of a vertical on edge of papyrus
- 2 γ[, upright with diagonal (or horizontal) extending to right from apex, trace of ink at upper right as of ν, γ .
- 3 α, right side of triangular letter obscured by damage to fibers as of α, δ, λ

Collection,” *TAPA* 52 [1922] 142-168). Dr. Don Skemer, the Curator of Manuscripts at Princeton, informs me that the majority of the Princeton collection is Oxyrhynchite, with regard to which possibility the fragment in question offers no contradictory evidence. (The collection’s descriptive inventory, for its part, states that the provenance is unknown, but given that this same inventory also erroneously dates the hand to the first centuries BCE/CE, we are at liberty to reevaluate.)

⁴ In line 2, for example, the letters can be distinguished only by observing the point at which the crossbar intersects the second upright.

- 3 ι . [, upright with decorative serif at apex (cf. l. 7); damaged fibers and a fleck of ink at lower letter height
- 4]τ, upper portion of vertical with horizontal cap extending to right as of τ, γ
- 4 . [, trace of ink at upper letter height above lacuna
- 5] . , fleck of ink at mid letter height on edge of papyrus
- 5 α . α, middle letter obscured by hole, fleck of ink at lower-left position, *possis* λ, *vix* τ, ι
- 6]μ, bowl-shaped stroke leading into descender as of μ, ω; end of verse followed by over 0.5 cm blank papyrus
- 7 ε [, faint traces of lunate stroke with horizontal crossbeam as of ε, θ
- 8 γχ [, upright with horizontal cap extending to right; left side of intersecting diagonals; fleck at lower right as of γχ, γχ . , ιχ, ιχ .
- 9]φ . . . , papyrus obscured to right of φ; flecks of two letters' width at upper-letter height; vertex at top as of α, δ
- 10]ξυ, right edge of two horizontal or diagonal strokes at mid and upper-letter height, respectively, as of ε, χ, κ, *vix* c
- 10 ε . ι, a difficult reading: upper portion of a lunate letter with damaged fibers at mid and lower letter height as of c, ε, but resembling the vertex of two diagonals as of δ, α (cf. l. 3 for a comparably sharp-angled upper portion of c)
- 10 α . [, faint fleck at lower letter height adjacent to the tail of α
- 11] . κ, fleck at mid to upper letter height
- 11 ν . . [, badly damaged fibers: traces of a round or lunate shape; faint flecks
- 12]φ, upper portion of the lengthy upright of φ (cf. l. 4; l. 9); fibers damaged at right.

Numerous morphological and lexical details indicate an epic context: I reconstruct the Homeric verb *παρέαειν* (l. 3; first suggested by Richard Janko) as well as forms of the epic words for helmet (*τροφάλεια*, l. 4) and weapon (*ἔγχος*, l. 8),⁵ conjectures which are endorsed by the sure presence of an archaic genitive in -οιο (l. 6), and a form of the patronym *Αἰακίδης* (l. 7). Of metrical features, the frequency of the double-short rhythm – either ∪ ∪ – (ll. 3, 4, 6,⁶ 8) or – ∪ ∪ (l. 7) – is consistent with hexameters, a possibility which is confirmed

⁵ Although certain -μι verbs in Attic-Ionic also retain -αει as a third person plural ending (e.g. ἰάει, διδόαει, τιθέαει, ἰτᾶει), the form *παρέαει* is attested only in Homer (*Il.* 5.192; 14.299; *Od.* 13.247). On the ending, see the discussion in A.L. Sihler, *A New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (Oxford 1995) §430.5. Alternatives are few, and not inconsistent with an epic context: one might read the archaic adverb *ῥέα*, or posit a reference to the goddess of the same name.

⁶ The reading *πολέ]μοιο* is, admittedly, a conjecture, but the other likely supplements (see app. crit.) are metrically equivalent.

or other equipment (l. 10) are all compatible with a struggle over a corpse, unclear though the details may be.⁹

The possibility that the text both relates to the tradition of Achilles' death and evokes the Patrocleia raises the thorny matter of neoanalysis and what Jonathan Burgess, in his most recent study, has termed "motif transference."¹⁰ The episode of Patroclus' death, neoanalysts have long argued, deploys motifs and details drawn from the tradition of Achilles' death. Burgess provides a welcome check on their tendency to overschematize the relationship: he concurs that the death of Patroclus corresponds in numerous details with what we know about that of Achilles and that it seems to be augmented in such a way to suggest as much, but he also notes certain divergences between the two narratives.¹¹ The extent to which the hexameters in question pertain to this debate is unclear: although I am inclined to conclude that the helmet in question is Achilles' and, less confidently, to speculate that the text describes the struggle over his corpse (which would place it firmly in the context of the neoanalytical debate), it must be admitted that the text is too fragmentary to provide decisive evidence for either claim, or for attributing it to the *Aethiopis* or *Little Iliad*, the two cyclic poems which would be the immediate candidates for a depiction of the death of Achilles.

Given the likelihood of a cyclic context, Jay Reed has suggested another enticing possibility, namely, that the scene involves the death of Penthesilea narrated towards the beginning of the *Aethiopis*.¹² According to Quintus' *Posthomerica* (1.657-662), the victorious Achilles removed her helmet following their duel, only to be taken by her καλὰ πρόσωπα (1.660). When Thersites gouged out one of her eyes, Achilles slew him in retribution.¹³ How much of Quintus' account is drawn from the *Aethiopis* is debatable; on the one hand,

the context his death, it may describe a fouling of his good looks; at *Il.* 16.798-799, the helmet is described: ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς θείοιο κάρη χάριεν τε μέτωπον / ῥύετ' Ἀχιλλῆος.

⁹ Cf. *P.Oxy.* 30.2510, on which see, additionally, M.L. West, "New Fragments of Greek Poetry," *CR* 16 (1966) 22. A. Bernabé, *Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum Testimonia et Fragmenta: Pars 1* (Stuttgart/Leipzig 1996 = *PEG*) includes the papyrus amongst the fragments of the *Little Iliad* (fr. 32), but considers it dubious, while M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen 1988 = *EGF*) omits it entirely.

¹⁰ J. Burgess, *The Death and Afterlife of Achilles* (Baltimore 2009). On the "death of Achilles" motif as transferred to the *Iliad*, see esp. 72-92.

¹¹ The fatal weapon and the identity of the killer, for example, differ between the two: see Burgess (n. 10) 81.

¹² Proclus' summary of the *Aethiopis* begins with the arrival of Penthesilea, followed shortly by her death at Achilles' hands (*PEG* arg. 4-6 = *EGF* arg. 4-6).

¹³ See also Prop. 3.11.14-16; Σ Lycoph. 999; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 5.1. Cf. Dictys Cretensis 4.3. The myth was well known enough to have been alluded to by a second or third-

Proclus' summary of the cyclic narrative (for what it is worth) includes the murder of Thersites and allegations of love, but is silent regarding the removal of her helmet.¹⁴ Nevertheless, one might suppose that a masked visage is less likely to rouse so powerful a desire than an unmasked one, and Quintus, we ought not to forget, is elsewhere an important source for details of cyclic epic.¹⁵ Indeed, his description of Penthesilea's καλὰ πρόσωπα provides a particularly promising clue for the interpretation of the papyrus, complicating the formula's appearance in the apparent context of Achilles' death. For, while the papyrus may well support the neoanalysts' argument about the link between the fouling of Achilles' helmet in the *Iliad* and his demise in the *Aethiopis*, in light of Quintus' testimony, the fouling of Achilles' good looks at the end of the latter poem could well also recall the unmasking and mutilation of the beautiful Penthesilea at its beginning—a typically epic moment of ring composition.¹⁶ Thus, while I am hesitant to assert that the fragment in question describes her death, its narrative may well invoke it.¹⁷

2 I have reconstructed the reading in line 2 as the aorist passive infinitive κινήθῃναι on the hypothesis that the text involves either the dislodging of the helmet or the activation of the individuals who are subsequently said to be present (παρέασι, l. 3). Admittedly, other aorist passives are possible as well (e.g. θοινηθῇναι, εὐνηθῇναι, δινηθῇναι, γεννηθῇναι, δυνηθῇναι, πονηθῇναι).

5 Janko suggests πρό[σωπα (cf. *Il.* 19.285; *Od.* 8.85; 15.332).

century CE Roman epitaph: κάλλος δ' αὖ μετὰ μοῖραν Ἀμαζόνος ἔσχεν ἄπιστον, | ὥστε νεκρᾶς πλέον ἢ ζώοντες εἰς ἔρωτα φέρεσθαι (*IGUR* 1268.12-13 = *IG* 14.1839).

¹⁴ Proclus mentions a λεγόμενον ἔρωτα (*PEG* arg. 7-8 = *EGF* arg. 8).

¹⁵ See, for example, the discussion of the winds at Patroclus' funeral in J.Th. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches* (Lund 1949) 75-83.

¹⁶ The extent to which the deaths of Penthesilea and Patroclus can be linked is more speculative, but Quintus notes Achilles' regret and that he slew her instead of taking her back to Phthia as his wife (1.671-674), regrets which recalls how Patroclus' death in the *Iliad* effectively seals his young death and the impossibility of a return home to Peleus, a long life, and family. See C. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge 1958), esp. 201. Nagy's discussion of ἄχος and πένθος as well as the similar etymologies of Achilles and Penthesilea suggests the parallelism of the two scenes might run even deeper: G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans*² (Baltimore 1999) 69-77 (esp. §2n1), 94-117. On the epic cycle's tendency to duplicate motifs, see, for example, W. Kullmann, *Die Quellen der Ilias* (Wiesbaden 1960) 224.

¹⁷ Only if we emend παρέασι (l. 3) to παρ(ε)ῖας would the possibility that Achilles was enchanted by a beautiful visage following the removal of the helmet really come to the fore, and the emendation not only violates the meter, but also (equally problematically) results from circular logic.

6 πολέ]μοιο: possible alternatives include Πριά]μοιο and ποτα]μοιο, or (if one takes recourse to Homeric formulae) a further reference to Achilles as fair-haired Thetis' son (Ἀχιλεὺς Θέτιδος πάϊς ἡϊκόμοιο, *Il.* 4.512; 16.860). As was noted, these alternatives do not affect metrical considerations.¹⁸

7 ποδώκεο]c appears five times as frequently in the *Il.* than ἀμύμονο]c, another possible supplement.

- Αἰακίδε]c: Achilles' father Peleus is, of course, another notable Aeacid, but in the absence of a myth involving his armed exploits, and in light of the Homeric usage (in which Αἰακίδης, as a substantive, is unique to Achilles), I pass over further discussion of this possibility.¹⁹ Janko's suggested correction to the Homeric form of the patronym in final position provides welcome relief, as reading *epsilon* results in one of two morphologically and metrically difficult forms: if one restores the Ionic genitive plural Αἰακιδέων (i.e. Hdt. 5.81) the reference cannot be limited to Achilles.²⁰ In addition, the plural Αἰακιδέων is problematic in the context of hexameters, as one would be forced to posit synizesis, as well as an additional monosyllable at verse end to accommodate it. The alternative, namely, the genitive singular form Αἰακιδέω, is no less problematic: synizesis and final monosyllable are again required to posit hexameters, but, more significantly, one must also grant that the form is not Homeric, but is attested first only in Apollonius of Rhodes (4.853), where it refers not to Achilles, but to Peleus.

8]διος ἔγχε]oc (l. 8): The ideal restoration is uncertain: nominative/accusative ἔγχε]oc is commonly found at verse-end, but more typically preceded by a neuter adjective that would modify it, with which the termination -oc (such as in adjectival δῖος or even two-termination compounds such as

¹⁸ See n. 6.

¹⁹ The exceptions to the substantive use are *Il.* 16.15; 18.433; 21.189, where Peleus' name is specified alongside the patronym – as also at Hesiod fr. 211.3; 211.7 (M-W). C. Higbie, *Heroes' Names, Homeric Identities* (New York 1995) 51-52, notes that the Homeric use of the patronym Αἰακίδης to denote Achilles more probably reflects poetic variety than any context-specific concerns. The "immortal" armor of Achilles, in which Patroclus and Hector were both slain, was technically passed down to him by his father Peleus (*Il.* 17.192-197), who received it from the gods as a wedding gift, but we cannot pinpoint any myths involving Peleus' exploits in the armor.

²⁰ To explain, one must take recourse to Pindaric epinician, in which references to the plural "Aeacidae" are found. (There, however, the context is regularly Aeginetan and the pair includes Telamon. In the current context, it is not clear how Telamon, Ajax, or even Neoptolemus would fit unless the Aeacidae in question were Ajax and Achilles, fighting together).

θραυκάρδιος) is incompatible. Three alternatives are possible: both ἐγγχείησι and ἔγχεϊ appear formulaically at the end of hexameter verses (the latter as ἔγχεϊ μακρῶ), which permits one to conjecture a dative form for the noun. In support of this possibility is the fact that both dative verse-ends can be preceded by a nominative adjective, as in the following examples:

ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχη φθιμίμβροτος ἐγγχείησι
μακρῆς (*Il.* 13.339-340)

τῇ μιν Ἄρης οὕτησε μαιφόνος ἔγχεϊ μακρῶ (*Il.* 21.402)

Based on such parallels, one might well conjecture θραυκάρ]διος ἔγχεϊ μακρῶ. Since these expressions regularly appear in the context of battle and wounding, one would have to assume that the struggle over Achilles' body and armor has already begun.

Other possibilities differ in their treatment of the reading]διος: if one insists on reading nominative/accusative ἔγχεος at the end of the line, a relative pronoun of some sort is unavoidable – either -]δι ὅς ἔγχε[ος, -]δι ὅς' ἔγχε[ος or] δι' ὅς' ἔγχε[ος (all of which result in particularly strong enjambment). A third (and far easier) solution is to read Διός and involve Zeus in the poetic action, a reading which would not restrict the case of ἔγχεος in any way.²¹ Of these three options, the first or last are clearly preferable, but there is little basis for choosing between them.

10 κ]εῦε(ς)ιν ὀπάς[σαι *suppl.* Janko (cf. *Od.* 4.619; 15.119) *vel fortasse* κ]εῦε(ς)ιν ὀπάζ[ειν (cf. *Od.* 18.19; 20.364).

²¹ Both sets of Achilles' armor derive from the gods: in addition to the divine armor crafted by Hephaestus in *Iliad* 18, the armor worn by Patroclus (and, subsequently, Hector) was originally a gift of the gods to Peleus (n. 19). On divine gifts in Homer (including the first set of armor), see J. Heath, "The Legacy of Peleus: Death and Divine Gifts in the *Iliad*," *Hermes* 120 (1992), esp. 390-392; and J.R. Wilson, "The Wedding Gifts of Peleus," *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 385-389. Furthermore, Zeus also stands at the head of the Aeacid family line (*Il.* 21.189), and one cannot overlook the pivotal role that Achilles' death plays in the Διὸς βουλή aimed at ending the race of demigods and the destruction of Troy: e.g. Cypria fr. 1 (*PEG* = *EGF*); Hesiod fr. 204.87-104 (M-W).

An Addition and Multiplication Table¹

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Abstract

Edition of a mathematical table demonstrating simple addition and multiplication calculations.

P.Mich. inv. 4435a

H x W = 8 x 12.9 cm

late II-early IV CE

This papyrus was acquired in the Askren-Boak purchase in 1925. Its provenance is unknown. The papyrus consists of a table which records simple mathematical operations (addition and multiplication) following the pattern $n + m$ and then $m + n$ for the integers $1 \leq n \leq m \leq 9$ with each numeral increasing in magnitude, i.e. $1 + 1 \dots 1 + 9$, $2 + 2 \dots 2 + 9$, etc. When the ones unit is complete, the table increases one order of magnitude to the tens unit for the integers $10 \leq n \leq m \leq 90$ in increasing magnitude in multiples of ten, i.e. $10 + 10 \dots 10 + 90$, $20 + 20 \dots 20 + 90$, etc. For numerical tables in general, see D.H. Fowler, *The Mathematics of Plato's Academy: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford 1999) 234-240 and 268-276; for an inventory of papyri, see A. Jones, "Mathematics, Science, and Medicine in the Papyri," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 338-357, esp. 340. The papyrus is comparable to number 53 in Fowler's list, *P.Lond.* 3.737 (p. xxx), published as *P.Rain.Unterricht* 150 (third century CE) and to number 77 in Fowler's list ("Further Arithmetical Tables", *ZPE* 105 [1995] 225-228), published as *T.Varie* 37 (fourth-fifth centuries CE).

The letters are upright and uniform. The ends of almost all of the vertical strokes are decorated with serifs. The left half of μ is formed similarly to λ . The letter forms of π , μ , and ξ present specific features which should be assigned to a period somewhere between the end of the second and the beginning of the fourth century CE; cf. *P.Rain.Unterricht* 150 (third century CE) and 159

¹ The papyrus belongs to the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection. The infrared photograph, captured in a 10 nm bandwidth centered at 930 nm, was taken by the Brigham Young University Ancient Textual Imaging Group with generous funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The photo is reproduced here courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection.

(third-fourth centuries CE); cf. also H. Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie* (Stuttgart 2010) Abb. 128a (*P.Hamb.* 1.39a; 179 CE); Abb. 171 (*P.Köln* 10.418; third-fourth centuries CE); Abb. 160 (*P.Köln* 1.52; 263 CE); and Abb. 179 (*PSI* 5.462; 314 CE).

The purpose of mathematical tables in general is difficult to assess. They may come from an academic milieu, either in the form of students' school exercises or instructors' lesson guides; or they may come from a mercantile or governmental setting in the form of ready reference charts for simple mathematical operations pertinent to various professional pursuits. For a brief discussion of the problem see G. Azzarello, "Frammento di tabella aritmetica dalla collezione di Vienna," in L. Popko, N. Quenouille, and M. Rücker (eds.), *Von Sklaven, Pächtern und Politikern* (Berlin and Boston 2012) 134-138, esp. 137 (= *P.Scholl* 3). Also, since the mathematical exercises seem to follow the alphabet exercises in elementary schools (see R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* [Princeton 2001] 180-181), the evolving handwriting itself is not a secure criterion on which to base our understanding of the purpose of the tables.

There are mathematical exercises dealing with addition in the papyri (cf. *T.Varie* 38, etc.), but they are rare (see Cribiore, *op.cit.*). This is because simple addition was generally practiced through recitation or reckoned on the fingers or an abacus. However, it is likely that the document in question is a school exercise because, besides demonstrating simple arithmetic calculations, it seems to illustrate two mathematical principles: the commutative property of addition, i.e. the principle that the sum is the same regardless of the order of the addends; and an introduction to the simplest multiplication operation, the rule that a number $\times 2$ gives the same result as the number added to itself. This seems to be the first step for a student to learn multiplication. From here the student would progress to more advanced multiplication exercises such as the ones mentioned in Azzarello.

Also, it is important to note that these calculations were not written down in blocks of 10 operations ($1 + 1 \dots 1 + 10$ or $1 \times 1 \dots 1 \times 10$, etc.), which is what would be expected in modern multiplication charts; cf. G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, "Greek and Roman Accounting," in A.C. Littleton and B.S. Yamey (eds.), *Studies in the History of Accounting* (London 1956) 56-57, and R. Netz, "Counter Culture: Towards a History of Greek Numeracy," *History of Science* 40 (2002) 321-352, esp. 328. Although the modern arrangement is easier to memorize, it could not have been conceived at this point in antiquity because of the lack of the number zero.

Line	col. 1	col. 2	col. 3	col. 4	col. 5	col. 6
1	[ε ς ια]	θ ς ιε]	ι κ λ	φ ι ρ	κ φ ρι	μ [μ π]
2	[ς ε ια]	ζ ζ ι[δ]	κ ι λ	κ κ μ	φ κ ρι	[δς μ π]
3	[ε ζ ιβ]	δς ζ ιδ	[ι λ μ]	δς κ μ	λ λ ξ	μ ν [φ]
4	[ζ ε ιβ]	ζ η ιε	λ ι μ	κ λ ν	δς λ ξ	ν μ [φ]
5	[ε η ιγ]	η ζ ιε	ι μ ν	λ κ ν	λ μ ο	μ ξ [ρ]
6	[η ε ιγ]	ζ θ ις	μ ι ν	κ μ ξ	μ λ ο	ξ μ [ρ]
7	[ε θ] ι[δ]	θ ζ ις	ι ν ξ	μ κ ξ	λ ν π	μ ο [ρι]
8	[θ ε ιδ]	η η ις	ν ι ξ	κ ν ο	ν λ π	ο μ [ρι]
9	[ς ς] ιβ	δς η ις	ι ξ ο	ν κ ο	λ ξ φ	μ π [ρκ]
10	[δς ς] ιβ	η θ ιζ	ξ ι ο	κ ξ π	ξ λ φ	π μ ρ[κ]
11	[ς ζ] ιγ	θ η ιζ	ι ο π	ξ κ π	λ ο ρ	μ φ ρ[λ]
12	[ζ ς] ιγ	θ θ ιη	ο ι π	κ ο φ	ο λ ρ	φ μ ρ[λ]
13	[ς η] ιδ	δς θ ιη	ι π φ	ο κ φ	λ π ρι	ν ν ρ
14	[η ς] ιδ	ι ι κ	π ι φ	κ π ρ	π λ ρι	δς ν ρ
15	[ς θ] ιε	δς ι κ	ι φ ρ	π κ ρ	λ φ ρκ	γ ξ ρ[ι]
16					φ λ ρκ	ξ γ ρ[ι]
1	[5 6 11]	9 6 15]	10 20 30	90 10 100	20 90 110	40 [40 80]
2	[6 5 11]	7 7 1[4]	20 10 30	20 20 40	90 20 110	[2× 40 80]
3	[5 7 12]	2× 7 14	[10 30 40]	2× 20 40	30 30 60	40 50 [90]
4	[7 5 12]	7 8 15	30 10 40	20 30 50	2× 30 60	50 40 [90]
5	[5 8 13]	8 7 15	10 40 50	30 20 50	30 40 70	40 60 [100]
6	[8 5 13]	7 9 16	40 10 50	20 40 60	40 30 70	60 40 [100]
7	[5 9] 1[4]	9 7 16	10 50 60	40 20 60	30 50 80	40 70 [110]
8	[9 5 1]4	8 8 16	50 10 60	20 50 70	50 30 80	70 40 [110]
9	[6 6] 12	2× 8 16	10 60 70	50 20 70	30 60 90	40 80 [120]
10	[2× 6] 12	8 9 17	60 10 70	20 60 80	60 30 90	80 40 1[20]
11	[6 7] 13	9 8 17	10 70 80	60 20 80	30 70 100	40 90 1[30]
12	[7 6] 13	9 9 18	70 10 80	20 70 90	70 30 100	90 40 1[30]
13	[6 8] 14	2× 9 18	10 80 90	70 20 90	30 80 110	50 50 100
14	[8 6] 14	10 10 20	80 10 90	20 80 100	80 30 110	2× 50 100
15	[6 9] 15	2× 10 20	10 90 100	80 20 100	30 90 120	50 60 1[10]
16					90 30 120	60 50 1[10]

The height of the lines varies throughout the papyrus. The numbers ξ (60), ϙ (90) and ρ (100) are taller than the other numbers in the table, and consequently produce variation in the number of lines contained in the columns in which they appear. Throughout columns 4-6, the first line maintains the same height (in bold). Above this the papyrus has sustained enough damage and a blank space as margin is expected there. Col. 3, line 15 is the lowest line on the papyrus. This line is level with the lost or partly effaced text on col. 1, line 15, col. 2, line 15, col. 4, line 16, col. 5, line 16 and col. 6, line 16 (see bold text). In any case each column contains 15-16 lines of mathematical operations.

The mathematical table consists of an increasing series of numbers being added together. There are two different sets of numbers:

1. Integers in the ones unit; i.e. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 (this papyrus preserves only 5-9).

2. Integers in the tens unit (in multiples of ten); i.e. 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90 (this papyrus preserves only 10-50).

The series begins by adding a given number to itself, and then, in lieu of reversing the addends (which are identical), the equation is restated as $2 \times$ the number, expressed by the adverb *δῖς* (twice) followed by the number, which, of course, gives the same result as the number added to itself. Then the next integer is added to the number in question, followed by the same equation but with the addends reversed. And so forth.

Since it seems that each column had 15-16 lines, we can deduce that the lost columns to the left of the extant text contained the following equations:



1	$1 + 1 = 2$	$1 + 9 = 10$	$2 + 9 = 11$	$9 + 3 = 12$
2	$2 \times 1 = 2$	$9 + 1 = 10$	$9 + 2 = 11$	$4 + 4 = 8$
3	$1 + 2 = 3$	$2 + 2 = 4$	$3 + 3 = 6$	$2 \times 4 = 8$
4	$2 + 1 = 3$	$2 \times 2 = 4$	$2 \times 3 = 6$	$4 + 5 = 9$
5	$1 + 3 = 4$	$2 + 3 = 5$	$3 + 4 = 7$	$5 + 4 = 9$
6	$3 + 1 = 4$	$3 + 2 = 5$	$4 + 3 = 7$	$4 + 6 = 10$
7	$1 + 4 = 5$	$2 + 4 = 6$	$3 + 5 = 8$	$6 + 4 = 10$
8	$4 + 1 = 5$	$4 + 2 = 6$	$5 + 3 = 8$	$4 + 7 = 11$
9	$1 + 5 = 6$	$2 + 5 = 7$	$3 + 6 = 9$	$7 + 4 = 11$
10	$5 + 1 = 6$	$5 + 2 = 7$	$6 + 3 = 9$	$4 + 8 = 12$
11	$1 + 6 = 7$	$2 + 6 = 8$	$3 + 7 = 10$	$8 + 4 = 12$
12	$6 + 1 = 7$	$6 + 2 = 8$	$7 + 3 = 10$	$4 + 9 = 13$
13	$1 + 7 = 8$	$2 + 7 = 9$	$3 + 8 = 11$	$9 + 4 = 13$
14	$7 + 1 = 8$	$7 + 2 = 9$	$8 + 3 = 11$	$5 + 5 = 10$
15	$1 + 8 = 9$	$2 + 8 = 10$	$3 + 9 = 12$	$2 \times 5 = 10$
16	$8 + 1 = 9$	$8 + 2 = 10$		

The second set of numbers, those in the tens unit, are added to one another in the same manner as those in the ones unit. Therefore, the series must have continued to the right of the extant text in the following manner.

1	$50 + 70 = 120$	$70 + 80 = 150$
2	$70 + 50 = 120$	$80 + 70 = 150$
3	$50 + 80 = 130$	$70 + 90 = 160$
4	$80 + 50 = 130$	$90 + 70 = 160$
5	$50 + 90 = 140$	$80 + 80 = 160$
6	$90 + 50 = 140$	$2 \times 80 = 160$
7	$60 + 60 = 120$	$80 + 90 = 170$
8	$2 \times 60 = 120$	$90 + 80 = 170$
9	$60 + 70 = 130$	$90 + 90 = 180$
10	$70 + 60 = 130$	$2 \times 90 = 180$
12	$60 + 80 = 140$	
12	$80 + 60 = 140$	
13	$60 + 90 = 150$	
14	$90 + 60 = 150$	
15	$70 + 70 = 140$	
16	$2 \times 70 = 140$	

This reconstruction denotes that the table originally contained about ten columns with dimensions of approximately 11×29 cm. However, it cannot be determined whether or not the mathematical operations stopped with the tens unit. The table might have increased another order of magnitude to the hundreds unit, i.e. $100 + 100 \dots 100 + 900$, etc. If that was the case, the papyrus must have been considerably larger.

Two More Fragments of the Vienna *Jannes and Jambres*¹

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Abstract

Edition of two additional fragments of P.Vindob. G 29456+29828↓. The new fragments are labeled P.Vindob. G 00180↓ and G 28249↓. Although the latter has few remaining letters, the former belongs immediately above P.Vindob. G 29456↓ (= fragment A [Maraval]) and has six partial lines of text.

All papyrus fragments labeled P.Vindob. G 29456↓, G 29828↓, G 28249↓, and G 00180↓, now a total of eight, are part of a roll, which on its recto is inscribed with a so-called hermetic text dated palaeographically to the third century AD. The first four fragments were published by Hans Oellacher in 1951.² Oellacher labeled them α-δ, α and δ being the two registered under G 29456, and β and γ, the remaining pair, registered under G 29828. Since he was unable to identify the fragments correctly, Oellacher grouped them, together with their recto, under “Gnostica,” and more particularly characterized the text on the recto as “hermetic,” based on his reading of ὁ Ἐρμ[ῆς] on fr. γ line 5.

The hermetic text on the recto of the roll was assigned to the early third century AD by Oellacher, and, in his opinion, it was unlikely that the text on the verso, which he thought might be apocryphal acts of John the Apostle, would not be of much younger date. Here his identification was guided by the appearance of εἰοαννης (= Ἰωάννης) on G 29828 (fr. β) line 12. In point of

¹ The author is grateful to Bernhard Palme of the Papyrussammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, for permission to publish the fragments, and to Cornelia Römer and Anna van den Kerchove for ceding to me their publication rights to P.Vindob. G 00180↓ and P. Vindob. G 28249↓ respectively. The fragments were identified and placed by Hermann Harrauer, former director of the Papyrussammlung some time prior to 2004. Cornelia Römer graciously put her transcription at my disposal.

² Hans Oellacher, “Papyrus- und Pergamentfragmente aus Wiener und Münchner Beständen,” in *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati* 2 (Milan 1951) 179-188 at 182-188.

fact, G 29456 (fr. α) line 4 (= line 10 now that G 00180 has been added) reads ειοαμβρης (= Ἰωάμβρης?) as well, although the standard names in the other three Greek manuscripts of the book of Jannes and Jambres are Ἰάννης and Ἰάμβρης. P.Mich., however, itacizes ι to εἰ at least for Ἰάννης.³

Approximately a quarter of a century later, Pierre Maraval re-published the text on the verso, this time correctly identified as *Jannes and Jambres*.⁴ Maraval's labeling of the fragments (A-D) reflects Oellacher's designations, and the latter's date is retained.⁵

The correct order of the two major fragments, as demonstrated by P.Chester Beatty XVI, is that G 29456 (fr. A) follows G 29828 (fr. B), with possibly a missing column in between them, parts of which may have survived in G 29828 (fr. C) and G 29456 (fr. D). Both of these fragments, however, are small, comprising nine lines each, counting from two to eight letters per line. Because of the fragmentary nature of all our textual witnesses, neither C nor D has as yet been placed. The reading of D line 7, [το]ν κεραυ[νον] "the thunderbolt," is compatible with the scene portrayed on P.Chester Beatty Frame 2→, where, when Jannes has convened Egypt's wise men and diviners on the magicians' private estate (παράδεισος), located at some distance from Memphis, and seated them under an apple-tree (μηλέα), an earthquake strikes, accompanied by thunder and lightning, tearing apart the canopy formed by the foliage of the trees. The Beatty version, however, cannot accommodate the thunderbolt.⁶ Another possible setting for the thunderbolt is P.Chester Beatty Frame 5↓, just prior to Jannes' apparently violent death, the more so since the thunderbolt is a well known weapon for supernatural punishment, as, for example, in all three instances of it in the Septuagint (2 Macc. 10:30; Job 38:35; Wis. 19:13). In the context, a fire of some kind is mentioned, and the text is sufficiently fragmentary to accommodate the thunderbolt, although proof positive that it did is lacking.⁷

³ Fragment B line 5 also has Αοππον for Ααπων, the brother of Moses.

⁴ Pierre Maraval, "Fragments grecs du livre de Jannès et Jambré (Pap. Vindob. 29456 et 29828 Verso)," *ZPE* 25 (1977) 199-207.

⁵ If the third century AD date is correct, the Vienna text is the earliest of the four papyri currently known: P.Chester Beatty XVI (4th cent.); P.Michigan inv. 4925↓ (4th cent.); P.Heidelberg inv. G 1016 (4th cent.). For the last two see Georg Schmelz, "Zwei neue Fragmente des Apocryphons über die Zauberer Jannes und Jambres," in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Florence 2001) 1202-1212 and Plates XLVIa, b, c.

⁶ Albert Pietersma, *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians* (Leiden, 1994) 137. See also my *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* [= JSRZ], Neue Folge, Band 2, Lieferung 4: *Jannes und Jambres* (Gütersloh 2013).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

Several features of the Vienna fragments merit attention. While the hermetic text on the recto contracts six of its nine occurrences of θεός to θ(εό)ς – but not its two instances of ἄνθρωπος – the verso uses no contractions for θεός, πνεῦμα, or ἄνθρωπος^{vid}. Since non-contraction of the *nomina sacra* is commonly thought to point to a Jewish origin, underscored possibly by the fact that the manuscript is a roll rather than a codex (albeit a re-used one), we seem to have here an example of a Jewish scribe who re-used a roll that featured contractions of a *nomen sacrum* (Christian?)⁸ to inscribe his text – on the assumption that the roll was first inscribed along the fibres.⁹

For the text of *Jannes and Jambres* the number of letters per line has a range of 27–35, and the number of lines per column is 23 (B) and 25 (A) respectively. The total height of the roll must have been a minimum of 14 cm, with an inscribed surface of *ca.* 11 cm high x 9 cm wide. With the identification and placement of P.Vindob. G 00180 we now have two complete columns. Since a column measures *ca.* 9 cm in width and, judging from P.Chester Beatty XVI, the entire book would have comprised a minimum of 24 columns, the length of the entire roll, including an intercolumnar space of *ca.* 2 cm, would have been *ca.* 2.68 m.

Whether the verso of P.Vindob. G 28249↓ belongs where it has been put, namely, a small distance to the right of P.Vindob. G 00180↓, is questionable. Given that the former is virtually blank, it can only be placed on the basis of the text on the recto. Yet on the recto of G 28249 the lines do not line up with G 00180→ and, similarly, remnants of ink appear to be visible high up on the verso of G 28249, suggesting that, in any case, the piece should be lowered. Although it seems possible to read *av ca.* 1 cm from below, G 28249↓ merits inclusion here only for the sake of completeness.

Text

P.Vindob. G 00180+29456A↓

top of column

.. γιγ]νοσκειν μητ[ηρ

...]με μιναι εν τρι[σι σπιθαις

... αλ]λ αγων γ̄ ετη σο[ι

⁸ While Oellacher (n. 2) 184 rightly notes that the hermetic text on the recto is not Christian, the contraction of the *nomen sacrum* it features nonetheless reflects standard Christian practice.

⁹ Like the Vienna *Jannes and Jambres* fragments, the Michigan text (see n. 5 above) is written on a re-used roll.

-]ας και επιστην[αι
 5] ομολογησας δε[ε ο Ειοαννης ειπεν μη
 κετι ο]υν σκυλλου μ[ητηρ
] μηποτε πικρανθη[ς καθ
 ημεραν] δε αποστελο προ[ς σε ανθρωπον ως
 τε εξετ]ασε και σε τα κατεγ[κληματα μοι εξεπλαγην
 10 δε και Ειοαμβρη{ν} τω αδ[ελ]φω μου προ[οσ
 εισθαι σοι, προσεχειν σοι πιστος. και προ[οσ
 ελθων κατεφιλησεν αυτην συσχω[ν τ[α
 δαγρνα. εξελθουσης δε αυτης πα[ρ]α[σχε
 δον αφηκεν τα δακρνα και περ[ι]ελα[βεν
 15 φιλους αυτου{ς} παντας παρακαλεσ[ας προνοε
 ισθαι της μητρος αυτου. παραλ[αβων δε τον α
 δελφον αυτου{ς} εις Μεμφιν επ[ορευθη. λαβων
 βιβλον ειπε δη· αδελφε, γραφ[η]ν σοι παρατιθε
 μαι και εχε εν μυστηριω και φ[υ]λαξαι μη εξελ
 20 θειν εν η ημερα{ς} εξερχεται [βασιλευς και
 οι μεγιστανες της Εγυπ[του διωκειν τον λα
 ον Εφρεων μηδε συνο[φ]δευειν υποκριθη
 τι δε αρρωστιν και την [ψυχην σου φυλαξον
 απο θανατου και απο τ[ου] αδου
 25 τIAN ην ο θεος τον ου[ρανον και την γην
 bottom of column

P.Chester Beatty XVI Frame 4→

- top of page
 προς υ̐μας οτ̐ εξ̐ υπ̐[νου] εγειρει
 και μαδησθις το σ[ω]μα αυτου το συνολον
 και ειδως Ιαμβρη[ς
 αυ̐του̐ ενοει[
 5].μα[
 ο δε Ιαννης] ειπεν [
 προς τον β[α]σιλεα [
 αλ]λ̐ αγωγ [
 μ]ηκετ̐[ι ου]ν̐ σκυλλ[ου] μητηρ
 10 .] .τη . μ[ηπ]οτε πικ[ραν]θης
 .]ς καθ̐ ημεραν̐ δε [αποστελω] ανθρ(ωπ)ο[ν] σε
 το]ν̐ γινωσκιν̐ τα κα[τεκ]λη[ματα] μοι
 εξ̐]επλαγην̐ δε και Ι[αμ]βρη̐ τω̐ αδελφω̐ μου

- προ]σεχιν σοι πιστως· [κα]ι προ]σελθων εφιλ
 15 ησ]εν [αυτ]ην συνε[χων] τα [δακρυα· εξελθου
 σης δε σχ]ηδον αφ[ηκεν τα] δρα[κρυα και
 περιελαβεν τ]ους φ[ιλους] εαυτου, π[αντας
 παρακαλεσας] προν[οεισθ]αι {εισθ . } τη[ς μη
 τρος αυτου·] παραλ[αβων] δε τον αδελφ[ον αυ
 20 του εις] Μεμφ[ιν επορευ]θη· λαβω[ν την βι
 βλον ειπ]εν δ[η τω Ιαμβ]ρη· γραφ[ην σοι
 παρατιθεμαι και ε]χαι εν μυστηριω κα[ι
 φυλαξαι μη εξελθει]ν εν η ημερα {η} ερξερ
 χεται ο βασιλευς] και οι μεγισ[τ]ανες της
 25 Αιγυπτου διωκειν] τον λα[ον Εβραιων
 μηδε συνοδευειν α]υτοις [υποκριθητι
 δε αρρωστειν και την] ψυχη[ν σου φυλα
 ξον απο θανατου και] απο του α[δου
 ο θ(ε)ος τ]ον ουραν[ον
 bottom of page

Translation of P.Vindob. G 00180+29456A↓

(1) “. . . that you be aware, mother, (2) that it remained at three spans, (3)
 but a trial for three years to you it was, (4) and to take a stand.” (5) But when
 Joannes had made a promise, he said, (6) “So then, no longer trouble yourself,
 mother, (7) lest perchance you be embittered. (8) But every day I will send a
 person to you so that (9) you too may examine the charges against me. (10)
 But I was astounded at Joambres, my brother, that he (11) also attends to you,
 that he heeds you loyally.” And when (12) he stepped forward he kissed her,
 fighting back (13) tears. And when she had gone out, he straightway (14) burst
 into tears. And he embraced (15) his friends, having urged all of them to pro-
 vide (16) for his mother. But having taken along his (17) brother, he traveled
 to Memphis. He took a (18) book and said emphatically, “Brother, a writing
 to you I entrust (19) and keep it secret and guard yourself not to (20) go out
 on the day on which the king and (21) the nobles of Egypt go out to pursue
 the (22) people of the Hebrews nor to accompany them. But feign (23) illness
 and guard your life (24) from death and from Hades. (25) God the heaven
 and the earth . . .”

Context of P.Vindob. G 00180↓

That P.Vindob. G 00180↓ provides us with the initial six lines of fragment A of P.Vindob. G 29456↓, and thus completes the column, is clear from line 6, which is paralleled in P.Chester Beatty XVI Frame 4→ line 9.¹⁰ At the same time, however, it is clear that, although from line 6 (Beatty line 9) onward the Beatty and Vienna texts give us substantially the same account of Jannes' imminent journey to Memphis, in their opening lines the reverse is true. Whereas there is a certain amount of lexical overlap, it does not seem possible to integrate the two accounts. In point of fact, this difference between the two is already evident on the preceding page/column (on the assumption that the assigned page/column order is correct). What precedes in the Beatty text is an episode of the two brother magicians observing an omen of a setting star and extrapolating on its meaning, while the closing lines of the earlier column of the Vienna text are about a spirit or wind (πνεῦμα), signs (ση[μεῖα]) apparently not denied (οὐκ ἄρ]νοῦμαι) by Jannes. The closing line might be made to read Ἰάνν]ης εἶπεν and thus could possibly provide a transition to G 00180↓, where Jannes appears to be the only speaker.

Commentary on P.Vindob. G 00180↓

1 The restoration of [γῑγ]νοσκειν is suggested by two factors, first that a TLG¹¹ search confirms γῑ(γ)νωσκω or one of its compounds to be the only lexeme with -νωσκ- sequence of letters; secondly, the same word in the same grammatical form is also used in the Beatty text, line 9: το]ῦ γῑγνώσκιν τὰ κα[τεγκλή]ματά μοι, albeit not in an identical context. For μητ[ηρ] see below.

2-3 Since line 2 refers probably to “three spans,” although “three years” (ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσι) is not impossible, and line 3 refers clearly to three years, the reference must here be to P.Chester Beatty Frame 1→ (= page 3, JSRZ pp. 43-44) where, in a dream the mother of the two magicians has, an angel cut down a cypress-tree on their private estate, leaving a height of three spans (cf. Dan^{LXXTheod} 4:11-12). On Frame 1↓ (= page 4, JSRZ pp. 45-46) the three spans are then said to signify three years, after which, *inter alia*, affliction will come upon Egypt. It may thus be that in our present fragment, when Jannes is about to travel to Memphis, his mother is worried that the end of the three-year span

¹⁰ In the JSRZ fascicle (see n. 6) this frame has been assigned the page number 11 (= pp. 58-59), based on the likely page order in the book of Jannes and Jambres.

¹¹ Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, University of California, Irvine.

is imminent. Note that τρισί and $\bar{\gamma}$ stand virtually side by side. No other numerals occur in the Vienna text, and in the Beatty text they are all written out.

3 As in the Beatty text (line 8), ἀγών probably means an action at law or trial, rather than simply a struggle, and should thus be connected with κατεγκλήματα (“charges”) in line 9, which is likewise paralleled in the Beatty text (line 12). Jannes’ journey to Memphis, therefore, has a dual purpose: (1) to answer charges leveled against him and (2) to appoint Jambres as his successor, an implicit acknowledgement that his own life is drawing to a close.

5 The simplex form of ὁμολογέω is the most likely since it is the most common. The promise Jannes makes is likely that, on a daily basis, he will keep his mother informed about the proceedings. According to the TLG, the collocation μέναι ἐν is not elsewhere attested.

6 The vocative μήτηρ here and in line 1 commends itself for two reasons: (1) the word is partially preserved and (2) it is used elsewhere in the book in a similar context. On Beatty Frame 5↓ (= page 15, JSRZ pp. 65-66), when Jannes is on the verge of death (presumably back at his private estate), his mother tries desperately but unsuccessfully to reach him, since he backs away διὰ τὸ πῦρ (“on account of the fire”). From a distance, he then uses the same verb he uses here (σκύλλω), followed by the vocative μήτηρ: ἐσκύλης, μήτηρ, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με (“you took the trouble, mother, to come to me”). In fact this vocative is used three times within the space of five lines. Although on the present occasion Jannes is not yet *in extremis*, the later passage is also an emotional departure scene.

7-8 Both the Vienna and the Beatty (lines 12-13) versions have Jannes promise that he will send his mother word on a daily basis (καθ’ ἡμέραν). In *Jannes and Jambres* there is evidence to suggest that two brothers were grandsons of Petephres, the priest of Heliopolis (cf. Gen. 41:45, 50; 46:20), making it plausible that their walled, private estate (παράδεισος) was in the vicinity of Heliopolis. Their genealogy in P.Mich. inv. 4945↓ (cf. n. 5 above) I have reconstructed to read in part: . . . καὶ Πετεφρῆς ἦν ἱερεὺς τοῦ [Σαράπιδος καὶ ἀρχιε]ρῆς τοῦ Ἀπιδος [ἐν Ἡλιοπόλει] (“and Petephres was priest of Sarapis and chief priest of Apis in Heliopolis”). If this is correct, a daily report from Jannes (in Memphis) to his mother (on the estate) would be quite feasible, given that the distance between Memphis and Heliopolis is approximately 30 km and therefore within the estimated range of a day’s journey. Since Memphis and Heliopolis are on opposite sides of the Nile, travel by boat would presumably be involved.

9-11 (= Beatty lines 12-14) While these lines are not part of the new text, the latter does help to shed new light on it. At first glance one might infer that Jambres was admonished by Jannes to take good care of their mother in his absence. This interpretation can scarcely be correct, since in lines 16-17 (Beatty lines 19-20) the reader is told that the two brothers travel to Memphis together. The verb used at the end of line 9 is ἐξεπλάγην (ἐκπλήσσω), borrowed from a virtually identical statement in the Beatty text (line 13), even though it is too long for the lacuna on line 9. Line length in the present section of the Vienna text varies from 29 to 35 letters, while line 9 is 40 letters long. It may thus be that μοι, preserved in the Beatty text (line 12), was absent from the Vienna text or that a few letters were written into the margin. Also possible is that line-final -ην was written as ἦ. The sense of Jannes' statement must be that he strongly defends his brother against their mother's complaint against both brothers for ignoring her interests and her wishes. What is something of a surprise is that Jannes uses as strong an expression as he does, since ἐκπλαγῆναι typically has to do with "awe" and "fear." Perhaps it is meant to reflect the vehemence of his defense of his brother.

25 As it happens, the sequence ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, attested in P.Chester Beatty XVI as well (line 29), occurs exclusively in Gen. 1:1 and 2:4 and their attendant references, according to the TLG.

In summary, P.Vindob. G 00180↓ shows that in the third/fourth century *Jannes and Jambres* circulated in more than one version. This must be recognized, however, against the backdrop of lexical and topical identity, an interesting example being the reference of our new fragment to the dream of the mother and the three-year reprieve also extant in the Chester Beatty text.

A Greek Christian Liturgical Hymn (P.CtYBR inv. 1584A)¹

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Abstract

Editio princeps of P.CtYBR inv. 1584 side A: a Greek Christian liturgical hymn dated to the 7th or 8th century written on the back of a documentary Coptic text. The Lord is praised in the initial quotation from Ps. 149:1 and in references to the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Resurrection in a quotation from Ps. 103:2. The hymn ends with a doxology. The format of the Greek text suggests that the papyrus was intended to be used by a singer in a liturgical context.

P.CtYBR inv. 1584²

H x W = 16 x 12 cm

Fayyum, VII/VIII

This fragment of papyrus was acquired by the Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library at Yale University in 1935. It is mutilated on three sides, and only the bottom margin is well preserved. On side A (written along the fibers), two strips of papyrus have been lost. There is no sign of a fold on the fragment; it was therefore not a bifolium from a small codex. The papyrus sheet was reused several times. Side B (written across the fibers) contains a Coptic documentary text of an account arranged by place names.³ There are nine lines of writing, and they are in poor condition. The number ϣ (= 160) is legible on the first line. **Two place names from the Fayyum are identifiable and indicate a possible provenance of the papyrus:** πκαν . . . [(l. 1)⁴ and πτεπουζαρ⁵

¹ The authors wish to thank Professors Roger S. Bagnall, Stanley Boorman, Anne Boud'hors, Johannes Diethart, and Peter van Minnen for their comments and suggestions.

² Images at: [http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSET.asp?pid=1584\(A\)](http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSET.asp?pid=1584(A)) and [http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSET.asp?pid=1584\(B\)](http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSET.asp?pid=1584(B)).

³ According to Prof. van Minnen.

⁴ Prof. Boud'hors suggested πκανχαρε, but this cannot be confirmed.

⁵ See S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden 1988) 2060-2061.

(l. 7). Side A contains seven lines of well-preserved Greek text, five of which are incomplete on the right side. A cross indicates the beginning of the text. There are traces of the bottom portions of two additional lines, one under each of the missing strips of papyrus (identified as l. 3 and l. 6). The missing strips themselves may also have contained one line each of text. To the left of this Greek text, there are traces of the end of seven lines of text, which include two legible *epsilons* and one *pi*. The bases of these letters are not aligned with those of the lines of Greek text. These are probably the remains of a Coptic text because a *pi* is never found at the end of a Greek word.

The Greek text is in a large “sloping majuscule” with cursive forms for α and υ but not for δ. **The τ and θ have small hooks on their left sides. The horizontal line of θ is always extended.** A space was left between the two parts of the κ, and the υ is written in two strokes, the second of which descends below the base line. Minor variations may be found in the writing style of ν (ll. 2, 4, 9), ω (ll. 1, 2, 7, 8) and τ (ll. 1, 4, 5, 8). There are five examples of κ (ll. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9) that are very similar and one (l. 8) that differs because of a shorter vertical hasta on the left and a more vertical stroke on the right. The last two lines of text are slightly indented, but the homogeneity of the writing style throughout the Greek text suggests that it was written by a single hand. The writing is comparable to that of P.Vindob. G 3,⁶ BKT 8.16,⁷ P.Vindob. G 26030,⁸ and *P.Berl. Sarisch.* 8, dated to the 7th or 8th century. The spelling errors in the Greek text are typical of this period in Egypt and are due to the influence of the Coptic language,⁹ for example, the use of the vowels ω for ο (l. 2) and ου for ο (l. 9), and the switching between voiceless and voiced palatals κ and γ (l. 8 and 9).

There is a strong resemblance between the hands of the Coptic text (side B) and the Greek text (side A). This is particularly evident in the letters α, β, δ, κ and ω. The square form of the letters suggests that the scribe of the Greek text was influenced by a Coptic writing style. These Greek and Coptic texts may be of a single hand. To the left of the Greek text on side A, the two *epsilons* have elongated median horizontal lines. These are very different from the ε in the Coptic text (side B) and the ε in Greek text (side A). Although the *pi* from

⁶ G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300-800* (London 1987) no. 49b.

⁷ Cavallo and Maehler (n. 6) no. 53b.

⁸ F. Maltomini, “P.Vindob. G 26030: Δοξολογία μεγάλη,” *ZPE* 60 (1985) 267-272, pl. XIV 1-2.

⁹ See F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol.1 (Milan 1976) 332-333; J.-L. Fournet, “The Multilingual Environment of Late Antique Egypt: Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Persian Documentation,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. R. Bagnall (Oxford and New York 2009) 418-451 at 444.

the text on the left of side A is similar to those in the other two texts, there is insufficient material to determine whether this text is in the same hand as the other two texts.

The phraseology of the Greek text is characteristic of Christian liturgical hymns that praise the Lord. The hymn begins with the first verse of Ps. 149: ἄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἕσμα καινόν. This psalm was sung in its entirety as part of the morning office (ὄρθρος).¹⁰ It was sung with Ps. 148 and 150, and the three were called the αἶνοι. Our hymn continues with a confirmation of the divinity of Jesus as the son of God (l. 2): ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ π(α)τρ(ὸ)ς γενν[ηθεῖς], and references to the Annunciation and Nativity (l. 4-6): παρθένης ἐκτὸς ἀνδρὸς ... τίκτουςαν ... βρέφ[ος]. This is followed by a quotation from Ps. 103:2 (l. 7): ὁ ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶ[ς], as a reference to the Resurrection. The final words of the psalm phrase, ὡς ἱμάτιον, are missing. This suggests that the original papyrus sheet was at least 10 characters wider on its right side. The phrase on the next line (l. 8), τωκαγγελω, may be understood as τῷ καγκέλῳ from τὸ κάγκελον or κάγκελλον, a church chancel.¹¹ As this term is not biblical, it was not a continuation of the psalm quotation from the preceding line. The *vacat* after the two words suggests that τῷ καγκέλῳ may be a rubric containing the direction for a physical gesture before the final doxology on the next line. An alternative interpretation of τωκαγγελω is that the letters τω are the end of a word from the preceding line and that καγγελω is an abbreviated form of κ(αἰ) followed by ἀγγέλῳ, the angel of the Resurrection according to Mt. 28:2 and 5. This hypothesis gains additional support from the difference in the form of this κ from others in the hymn text. The last line on the papyrus begins with the verb δοξολοκουσιν (for δοξολογοῦσιν), which often appears as the introduction to a concluding doxology, such as a Trisagion.

This papyrus probably served as an *aide-mémoire* for singing, either by cantors as they led a congregation or by individual members of the clergy or congregation. The unusually large spacing between the lines and relatively large letter size facilitated the reading of the text while singing. The five *vacats*

¹⁰ R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville 1986).

¹¹ For uses of the term in a liturgical context see Georgius Syceota Theol., *Vita sancti Theodori Syceotae*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1970) section 68, l. 9: Εἰσελθὼν τοῖνυν καὶ εὐξάμενος ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου, προσέταξεν ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν παραλυτικὴν γυναῖκα καὶ θεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κάγκελλον τοῦ βήματος· καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκτενὴ εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς; Cyrillus Biogr., *Vita Euthymii*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig 1939) 45, l. 11: Τοῖνυν ἀναφορὰς ἐπιτελουμένης Τερέβων ὁ Σαρακηνὸς πλησίον ἵσταμένος τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπεστηριγμένας τῷ καγκέλλῳ τοῦ ἱερατείου θεωρεῖ αἰφνίδιον ὅτι κτλ.

between words, which are unusual in *scriptio continua*, probably served to coordinate the sung text with the “rhythm” of the hymn melody. The irregular grouping of lines helps to distinguish the strophes, called *troparia* or *stichera*, that were to be sung in alternation with psalm verses or other scriptural material.

There are no accents or interlinear signs other than three small circumflex-like signs over ι and two abbreviations for *nomina sacra*, κ(υρ)ιϥ (l. 1) and π(ατ)ρ(ός) (l. 2), where the scribe uses a slightly curved line to indicate the abbreviation, rather than the commonly used dash or hyphen. With regard to the circumflex-like signs, we note:

- the sign over ι in an initial diphthong and before another vowel: αἰώνων (l. 2)
- the sign over ι as part of a diphthong and before a consonant: καινόν (l. 1)
- the sign over ι between consonants at the end of a word: δοξολουκοῦσιν (l. 9)
- no sign over ι in the word τίκτουσαν (l. 6)
- no sign over ι in the Coptic text (side B)

The hymn text is not accentuated according to the standard system of Greek pitch accents developed by Aristophanes of Byzantium around 180 BCE in Alexandria.¹² The systematic use of these pitch accents in liturgical collections began at the end of the 8th century.¹³ Since the three circumflex-like signs are not placed over the correct letters for pitch accentuation, the function of these signs is ambiguous. In order to mark a separation, Greek and Coptic¹⁴ scribes occasionally used hyphens between words or diaeresis on an initial ι or υ. However, it is highly unlikely that the circumflex-like signs here are separation marks between words, because none of them is above initial letters, and two of them appear over words that begin with consonants. A more plausible argument is that the signs served to indicate a change in pronunciation. The letters αι were pronounced like an ε in this early Byzantine period, and in καινόν

¹² For the history and evolution of pitch accents see E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (London 1987); A. Biondi, *Gli accenti nei papiri greci biblici* (Rome and Barcelona 1983); B. Laum, *Das alexandrinische Akzentuationssystem* (Paderborn 1928); C.M. Mazzucchi, “Sul sistema di accentazione dei testi greci in età romana e bizantina,” *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 145-167; J. Moore-Blunt, “Problems of Accentuation in Greek Papyri,” *QUCC* 29 (1978) 137-163.

¹³ For examples, see Cavallo and Maehler (n. 6) no. 55a (Cod. Paris. Lat. 4403 B, Homilies) and 55b (Cod. Sinait., Menology).

¹⁴ See A. Boud’hors and Ch. Nakano, “Vestiges bibliques en copte fayoumique au Musée du Louvre,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 5 (2003), especially three Coptic literary papyri from the Fayyum, AF 12764, E 6972b, E 7445, where the authors comment on short lines placed unsystematically above iotas instead of the more usual diaeresis, even where there is no possible use for diaeresis.

and αἰώνων the signs may have indicated an alternate pronunciation.¹⁵ In other words, the vowel group αι was to be pronounced in two separate sounds, perhaps to coordinate with the hymn melody. However, this explanation fails to provide a solution for the sign over the iota of δοξολογουσιν.

Those who used this papyrus within a liturgical context must have known the standard melody to which the hymn was sung. The three accents probably related to the musical aspect of the “performance,” which is consistent with the original function of pitch accents: to remind non-native Greek speakers how to conserve musical elements of the Greek language. Our three accents may have indicated small variations to the known melody, in order to emphasize the significant words: “new,” “time,” and “they glorify.” This may have been simply an elongation of the syllable,¹⁶ as in the irregular spelling of πρῶ (for πρό, l. 2), which may not have been an error on the part of a Coptic scribe, but rather, a means to emphasize the solemn expression πρὸ αἰώνων.¹⁷ Or the signs may have indicated the addition of a small musical figure, a melisma. Similar signs are found in editions of other early Christian hymns.¹⁸ Several editors¹⁹ have

¹⁵ For examples of misspellings that use ε instead of αι in these two words, see *P.Erl.* 2.22 παντων τον εωωνον and *P.Vindob.* G 1383 p. 1, l.3: αγμα γε[v]ον αωμε[v] λαοι] for ἄγμα καινὸν ἄσωμε[v] λαοί], ed. C. Grassien, “Reconstitution d’un livret byzantin pour le Dimanche des Rameaux (*P.Vindob.* G 1383 + 19895 + 26089),” in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, ed. I. Andorlini, G. Bastianini, M. Manfredi, and G. Menci (Florence 2001) 559-569 at 560, pl. XXIII.

¹⁶ Spelling transformations for this reason are not uncommon in Christian hymns. See *P.Erl.* 2.3 εμμεεγαλυνθη τα εργα σου, 6 ω σαρκοθεις, 9 οφθαλμης, 10 αυτων, πααντες, 19 ευλογυτε, 21 βασιλεα, 22 παντων τον εωωνον, 24 επιτημιαν, and 25 γεεγωνεν; *P.Berol.* inv. 16595 recto l. 2 Ιωαννης, l. 3 υμιν, verso l. 1 λαμβανον, l. 3 λεγι, l. 4 δοοξαασε, l. 5 κ(αι)κλυσμενων, l. 6 ψαλλωμε, and l. 7 ουρανωων (ed. K. Treu, “Varia Christiana I,” *APF* 24-25 [1976] 121-123, pls. 11-12), and *MPER.N.S.* 17.56.1 [Π] ωλλαα, 2 εις ουρανους, 19 ω σοτηρ, and 23 τηνν ακιαν αναστασις (reed. C. Grassien, “Deux hymnes et une litanie chrétiennes byzantines conservées par le *P.Rain.Cent.* 31 et cinq autres témoins papyrologiques,” *Tyche* 12 [1997] 51-84 at 78-79).

¹⁷ *P.Erl.* 2.7 contains the same word αἰώνων written εωωνον. In this case, doubling the w lengthens the second syllable and replacing o with ω shortens the last syllable.

¹⁸ For a detailed analysis of signs in Christian hymns of this period, see the forthcoming article by A. Gampel in *Musica Disciplina* 57 (2012).

¹⁹ In the recent publication of *P.Oxy.* 75.5023, a Christian hymn of the same period, C. Römer comments on the accents in the text: “presumably these belong to a system of musical notation. Something similar, though more elaborate, and more systematically applied, has been observed in other late texts from Egypt.” See also, *O.Skeat.Mich.* 16 in H.C. Youtie, *TAPA* 81 (1950) 99-116, *P.Berol.* inv. 14192, in K. Treu, *APF* 22-23 (1974) 384-385, *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 5, and *P.Strasb.* inv. 1185, in G. Husson, “*P.Strasb.* Inv. 1185: Hymne pour la fête de l’Hypapantè (2 février),” in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale*

posited a musical function for these unknown signs, and, in fact, an “accent theory,” proposed by musicologists²⁰ over the past two centuries, suggests that these signs may be precursors of Byzantine and Latin neumes.

Side A: diplomatic edition

→	- - - - -	
1	ε	+ αατε τωκῶαςμακαῖνον[
2	traces	ο πρωαῖωνωνεκπῆρσγενν[
3	traces	κῶ . . . τ[. .] . [
4		παρθενοςεκτοσανδρῶ[
5	traces	ποτηντικτουσαν <i>vacat</i>
6		[2-3] βρεφ[
7	π	ο αναβαλλομενος φω[
8	ε	τωκαγγελω <i>vacat</i>
9		δοξολουκουσῖν . . τ . [

1 *vacat* before and after αατε; κῶ curved overline as abbreviation of *nomen sacrum* κ(υ)ρίω; a small circumflex over καῖνον 2 ο or ει; *vacat* after first letter; a small circumflex over αῖωνων; πῆρσ curved overline as abbreviation of *nomen sacrum* π(α)ρ(ό)ς 7 π or γι because of separation between right hand stems; ο Grassien, ει Diethart; *vacat* after first letter; *vacat* after αναβαλλομενος 9 a small circumflex over δοξολουκουσῖν; *vacat* after δοξολουκουσῖν; οητφ[Grassien, αητι[van Minnen

Articulated text

→	- - - - -	
1	ε	+ ᾱσατε τῶ κ(υ)ρίω ᾱσμα καινόν [
2	traces	ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ π(α)ρ(ό)ς γενν[ηθεῖς
3	traces	κῶ . . . τ[. .] . [
4		παρθένος ἐκτὸς ἀνδρῶ[ς - - - τὸν δεσ-]
5	traces	πότην τίκτουσα{ν} <i>vacat</i>

di Papirologia, ed. I. Andorlini, G. Bastianini, M. Manfredi, and G. Menci (Florence 2001) 681-687.

²⁰ See E. de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1852); A. Gastoué, *Les origines du chant romain* (Paris 1907); E. Cardine, *Semiologia gregoriana* (Rome 1968); E.J. Revell, “Hebrew Accents and Greek Ekphonic Neumes,” *Studies in Eastern Chant* 4 (1979) 140-170; Ch. Atkinson, “De Accentibus Toni Oritur Nota Quae Dicitur Neuma: Prosodic Accents, the Accent Theory, and the Paleofrankish Script,” *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes* (Harvard 1995) 17-42.

6		[τὸ?] βρέφ[ος?
7	π	ὁ ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶ[ς ὡς ἰμάτιον
8	ε	τῷ κ(αὶ) ἀγγέλῳ <i>vacat</i>
9		δοξολογοῦσιν . . τ . [

“Sing to the Lord a new song ... He who was born from the Father before time ... Virgin without man ... giving birth to the Master ... infant ... Thee who covers thyself with light like with a mantle ... and angel ... they glorify ...”

1 = Ps. 149:1. The *incipit* of another hymn preserved on papyrus has been inspired by this verse: see P.Vindob. G 1383 p. 1, l. 3: αμα γε[ν]ον αωμε[ν λαοι] for ἄσμα καινὸν ᾄσωμε[ν λαοί], ed. Grassien (n. 15); revisited by C. Römer, *APF* 47 (2001) 370-371.

2 ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς γενν[ηθεῖς; see John Chrysostom, *Homily on Ps. 150*, PG 55, 577, l. 17: ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ Πατρὸς γεννηθεῖς; *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, ed. I. Schiro (Roma 1966-1983), Canons of April 1st, canon 1, ode 6, l. 30: ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ Πατρὸς γεννηθεῖς παιδίον ἐξέλαμψας παρθένου, Λόγε Θεοῦ. This *incipit* can be found in E. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, vol. 3 (Vatican 1962) 143.

4 An expression such as θελήματος or βουλῆς (John 1:13) or τὸν ἡμῶν πασῆς κτίσεως may have been used after ἐκτὸς ἀνδρό[ς].

4-5 τὸν δεσ[π]ότην: see, e.g., Romanos Melodos, *Cantica genuina*, ed. P. Maas and C.A. Trypanis (Oxford 1963), Hymn 35, section 7, l. 2: Μέγα μοι νῦν ὑπάρχει, ἀγαθὲ, ὅτι τέτοκα παῖδα τὴν τίκτουσαν τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων δεσπότην καὶ κύριον. One interpretation is (τὴν) παρθένον ... τίκτουσαν. The accusative form of δεσπότην might explain the incorrect use of the accusative form of τίκτουσαν. The expression παρθένος τίκτουσα is often found, not with ἐκτός, but with χωρὶς ἀνδρός (Origen, *Fragmenta in Ps. 1-150 [Dub.]*, ed. J.B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, vols. 2 and 3 [Paris 1883-1884; repr. Venice 1966], Ps. 18:6, l. 9: ἡ ἀγία Παρθένος, ἐπειδὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρὸς τεκοῦσα or ἄνευ ἀνδρὸς and John Chrysostom, *In natale domini nostri Jesu Christi*, PG 61, 765, l. 6: Παρθένος ἄνευ ἀνδρὸς ἐγέννησε βρέφος).

6 βρέφ[ος; see P.Strasb. inv. 1185, l. 12: βρέφος φρίττον ἐγ[καλιζεσθαι θεόν regarding the prophet Zachariah, ed. Husson (n. 19) 682-683, pl. XXX-VIIIa-b. A different case of βρέφος or a form of the adjective βρεφικός is also possible.

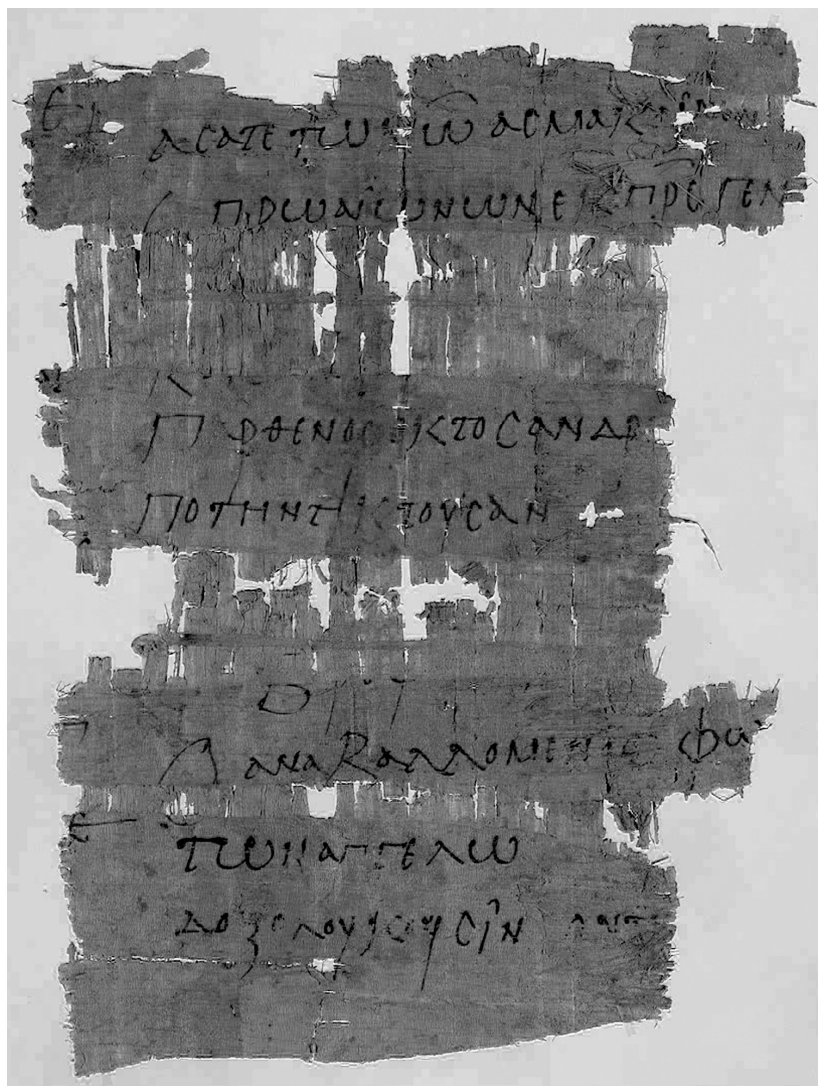
7 See Ps.103:2: ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶς ὡς ἰμάτιον. This explains the choice of a masculine article for the incipit Ὁ ἀναβαλλόμενος rather than εἰ. This

incipit appears often in E. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, vol. 3 (Vatican 1962) no. 213, followed by γυμνός or πρὸς σέ or δι' ἡμᾶς or ἀρεταῖς.

8 τωκαγγέλω: another solution than the one adopted in the text and argued for in the introduction would be that the scribe deformed the expression τῷ <ἀρ>χαγγέλῳ by writing τῷ <ἀρ>κ(αι)αγγελω or the expression -τω ἀρχηγὲ ἀγγέλω<ν> by writing -τω <ἀρχη>κ(αὶ) ἀγγέλω<ν>; compare the error of the copyist in University of Pennsylvania E 16403:²¹ ἀρχηκ(αὶ) τῶν ἀγγελλον for ἀρχηγὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων, the Archangel Michael.

9 The verb δοξολογοῦσιν is frequent in the indicative mood: see Romanos Melodos, *Cantica dubia*, ed. P. Maas and C.A. Trypanis (Berlin 1970), Hymn 83.15.4: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσωμάτως, τὸ δὲ πάλιν ἐν σώματι· ὅθεν Χερουβὶμ δοξολογοῦσιν· “Δόξα σοι θεῷ τῷ ἐν ὑψίστοις” λαοί, εἴπωμεν. A dative plural participle is also a possibility. After the verb, perhaps οὕτω[ς] introducing a final doxology or ἀντι[λήμτορα], the “protector” as in Ps. 118:114.

²¹ Edition online by Prof. Robert Kraft : <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/ppenn/museum/michael-hymn.html>.



P.CtYBR Inv. 1584

Instructions for Islamic Prayer from the Second Century AH/Eighth Century CE

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Abstract

P.Utah Ar. inv. 205 is an undated papyrus that contains instructions for Islamic prayer. Comparison of the script with published papyri indicates a second-century AH/eighth-century CE date. The text does not fit neatly into the standard Arabic papyrological categories of documentary and literary. Comparisons with fully-developed literary texts such as in Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri* 1-3, the Ibn Wahb papyrus (ed. David-Weill, 1939-1948), PSR inv. 23 (ed. Khoury, 1972), and PSR inv. 50-53 (ed. Khoury, 1986) are not as useful as comparisons with documents such as *P.Qurra* and Hinds and Sakkout, "A Letter from the Governor of Egypt," because P.Utah Ar. inv. 205 is "pre-literary." The text itself – instructions for prayer – is a rare surviving example of the types of non-Qur'ānic religious texts that were in circulation before the great theological and legal debates of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries led to the canonization of many bodies of Islamic literature. There are rumors that similar fragments exist in private collections and at the Egyptian National Library (Dār al-Kutub) in Cairo, but no one has published any of them.¹

P.Utah Ar. inv. 205

H x W = 12 x 26 cm

Provenance unknown
2d/8th century

The papyrus is brown and coarse and measures 12 x 26 cm with writing in black ink on both recto and verso. There are eleven lines on the recto and eight lines on the verso written in a distinct second/eighth-century hand. The top and right margins are intact. The far left edge of the papyrus is frayed, but

¹ References to documentary papyri follow E. Grob, A. Kaplony, and P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Checklist of Arabic Documents," at http://www.ori.uzh.ch/isap/isapchecklist/ISAP_Checklist_2011.pdf (accessed July 18, 2012). This is an updated version of J.F. Oates, A. Kaplony, and P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Checklist of Arabic Papyri (Beta Version)," *BASP* 42 (2005) 127-166.

no letters are lost. The bottom margins are completely missing. Only the very tops of the last lines of the recto and verso are visible. There is a 2.7 cm wide lacuna in the bottom middle of the papyrus that cuts into lines 9-11 on the recto and lines 6-8 on the verso. The top 3.9 cm of the recto is the bottom of a protocol leaf, but there are no traces of protocol text.² There are three layers of papyrus at the top of the fragment where the protocol was affixed to the rest of the roll. The top 1 cm of the verso has peeled away to expose the back of the protocol sheet as well as the two layers of the recto and verso. The first four lines of the recto run parallel to the fibers on the protocol sheet. At that point the protocol sheet ends, after which the text runs perpendicular to the fibers on the underlying sheet. On the verso, the text runs in the same direction as the protocol sheet. It is impossible to determine the provenance, but based on the contents of the rest of the University of Utah papyrus collection, in all likelihood the papyrus comes from Egypt.³

Typically, Arabic papyri have few diacritical marks (dots), so printed transcriptions of texts must provide these. One usually indicates which words were dotted in the original by listing them underneath the transcription. However, the original text of P.Utah Ar. inv. 205 has a nearly complete set of consonantal diacritical marks, so following papyrological conventions in this case would result in two almost identical transcriptions. In the edition below undotted words and other irregularities (e.g. one dot below the letter for *fā'*, one dot above for *qāf*, irregular use of long or plene *alif*) appear beneath the transcription instead of dotted words. I have added *hamza*, *madda*, and *shadda*, as well as the *alif qaṣīra* (dagger *alif*) in the word *Allāh*. These letters and pronunciation signs do not appear in the original.

Recto

١ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 من الصلاة حسن الوضوء هو منها فتحها يحلها التسليم و يحرمها التكبير
 على كلّ مسلم اذا قام الى الصلوة ان يقوم لله قانتا والقنوت
 الركوع والركوع والخشوع والخشوع من رهبة الله ثم يكون اول
 ٥ ما يقول حين يقوم وهو رافع يديه [ح-] ذاء منكبيه من غير تجاوزان اذنيه
 فيقول الله هو اكبر

² A. Grohmann describes protocol leaves in his *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo 1952) 32-43. Published protocols include *PERF* 71-101, *CPR* 3.2.131, and *Chrest. Khoury* 1.1-6.

³ W.M. Malczycki, "An Early Survey of the University of Utah Arabic Papyrus and Paper Collection," *al-Bardīyyat* 2 (2007) 7. Images of the collection are available online: "The University of Utah Arabic Papyrus, Parchment, and Paper Collection," at <http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/uuapp> (accessed July 26, 2012).

سبحانك اللهم وتبارك اسمائك وتعالى جذك ولا اله غيرك وجهت وجه
 للذي فطر
 السموات والارض حنيفا مسلما وما انا من المشركين ان صلاتي ونسكي
 ومحياي و
 مماتي لله رب العالمين لا شريك له بذلك امرت وان اكون من المسلمين
 ثم يفتتح
 فيقول القرآن فاذا فرغ من قراءته قال الله هـ واكبر وهو رافع يديه حذ
 ١٠ اء منكبيه من غير تجا[وز] ان اذنيه ثم ركع [. . . . لي] ظل راسه ولم يعينه
 بما وكفيه

traces

٢ فحها ٣ علي، فام، يفوم، فابنا، العسوب ٤ رهبه
 ٥ يفول، يفوم، حدا، يفول ٦ سبحنك، اسمايك، تعلي، حدك،
 فطر ٧ السموت، حنيها، صلاتي، نسكي، محياي ٨ مماتي،
 العلمين، بذلك، بفتتح ٩ يفول، الفروان، فادا، فراه، جرع

Verso

١ ثم يرفع راسه ويجعل مرجع كفتيه على ركبتيه يشرع اصابعه قبل {ا}
 القبلة ويقيم ابهامه ثم يصلي الصلوة كلها على هذا فاذا جلست
 في الركعتين فتشهد ولا تزيد فيه شيئا ولا تنقصه حتى تفرغ من شها
 دتك فاذا فرغت فقل ما شئت ان الكلام الطيب كبيرا كان
 ٥ <ا> بن مسعود يقول في شهادته قل بسم الله فيقول الكلام الطيب
 هكذا [التحيات لله والصلوات والطيبات لله السلام عليك ايها النبي ورحمة
 الل وبركاته السلام علينا وعلى عباد]⁴
 الله الصالحين اشهد [ان] لا اله [الا الله واشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله]
 منه [.]

⁴ The papyrus would not have contained all of what is included between [] here. See the line note.

١ يرفع، بشرع، كفيه، قبل ٢ الفيله، يفيم، بصلي، فاذا
 ٣ فيه، شيا، تنفصه، حتي، تبرع ٤ فاذا، فرغت، شيت،
 الكلم ٥ الكلم، يفول، فل، يفول ٦ هاكدا

“(Recto) In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. From prayer there is goodness. The ablution is its opening, the salutation of peace makes it licit, and the exclamation of God’s greatness makes it sacred. It is incumbent on every Muslim when he comes to prayer that he come before God standing reverently. And the *qunūt* is the repetitious bowing and prostrating in awe of God. Then there is the first of what one says while standing and raising his hands up to his shoulders without passing his ears: ‘God is the Greatest! Praise be to You, God, and blessed be Your names! Exalted is Your sovereignty! There is no god but You! I have turned my face, being a *ḥanīf* and a Muslim, to Him who cleft the Heavens and the Earth. I am not one of the polytheists. Verily, my prayers and piety, my life and death are all for God, the Master of all Worlds. He has no partner. By that I was ordered to become Muslim.’ Then he opens by reciting from the Qur’ān. When he has finished his recitation he says ‘God is Greatest!’, and he raises his hands up to his shoulders and without passing his ears. Then a bow ... so let him extend his head and he has not designated where (he will put his head) and his two palms ...

(Verso) Then he raises his head and he places his palms on his knees. Then he points his finger toward the Qibla, and he arranges his toes. He prays all of the prayer in this manner. When you sit after the two prostrations you say the profession of faith, being very careful not to add anything to it or leave anything out until you finish your profession of faith. When you finish, say what you wish. Verily, the good words are great! Ibn Mas’ūd used to say in his profession of faith, ‘Say “In the name of God,” and then he says the good words thus: [‘Greetings to God and prayers and righteousness. Peace be upon you oh, Prophet, and the mercy of God and His blessings. Peace be upon us and on]⁵ God’s pious servants. I witness that there is no god [except God and I witness that Muḥammad is His servant.] From him ...”

Recto

1 It is not uncommon to find early papyrus texts with many diacritical marks, but it is extraordinary to find one as thoroughly marked as P.Utah Ar.

⁵ The papyrus would not have contained all of what is translated between [] here. See the line note.

inv. 205.⁶ The only letters the scribe never dots at are final *tā' marbūṭa* (or, if one prefers, *hā' al-tā'nīth*) (recto, lines 2, 3, and 4; verso, line 2 [2x]) and *dhāl* (recto, lines 3, 5, 9, and 10; verso, lines 2 [2x], 4, and 6). In addition, the scribe dots *ghayn* only once (verso, line 4). The scribe is inconsistent in his arrangement of the dots, sometimes arranging them vertically, sometimes horizontally, and sometimes diagonally. One can find this inconsistency in arranging dots in many other first/seventh and second/eighth-century papyri.⁷ As is almost always the case in documentary papyri and often in literary papyri, there are no signs for short vowels.

2 The canonical *ḥadīth* collections provide *matn*-s that parallel this line.⁸ None of them include the words *min al-ṣalāti ḥusnūn*, so that must be an independent clause. The parallel *matn*-s are:

⁶ For general discussions about diacritical marks, see A. Grohmann, "Aperçu de papyrologie arabe," *Études de Papyrologie* 1 (1932) 23-90; N. Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script* (Chicago 1939) 38-40; E. Whelan, "Forgotten Witness: Early Evidence for the Codification of the Qur'an," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118 (1988) 1-14; Y. Rāḡib, "L'écriture des papyrus arabes aux premiers siècles de l'Islam," *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 58 (1994) 14-29; Y. Rāḡib, "Les plus anciens papyrus arabes," *Annales Islamologiques* 30 (1996) 1-19; A. Kaplony, "What are Those Few Dots For?" *Arabica* 55 (2008) 91-112. For specific examples of early documentary papyri with substantial diacritical marking, see *P.Khalili* 1.9, *Chrest.Khoury* 1.96, and *Hinds and Sakkout*, "A Letter from the Governor of Egypt."

⁷ B. Gruendler, *The Development of the Arabic Scripts* (Atlanta 1993) 112-115; G. Khan, *Arabic Papyri: Selected Material from the Khalili Collection* (Oxford 1992) 43. Here Khan cites A. Grohmann, *Allgemeine Einführung in die arabischen Papyri* (Vienna 1924) 70. For specific examples of vertical and horizontal arrangement of diacritical marks in the same text, see Jahn, "Vom früharabischen Briefwesen," no. 9; *Chrest. Khoury* 1.97; *P.Khalili* 1.9a and 14; *P.Khalili* 2.109; Rāḡib, "Lettres arabes (I)," no. 1; Rāḡib, "Lettres nouvelles de Qurra b. Sharik," no. 2.

⁸ In this article, "canonical collections" refers to the six major collections as well as *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal* and *Sunan al-Dārimī*. I realize these last two works are usually not counted as canonical, but categorizing them as such in this article will make it less cluttered, i.e. it will prevent having to write "... the canonical collections, *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, and *Sunan al-Dārimī* ..." several times. References to *ḥadīth* collections except for al-Dārimī's *Sunan* and Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* come from the Jam'iyat al-maktab al-Islāmī/Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation editions (Liechtenstein 2000). References to *Sunan al-Dārimī* come from al-Dārimī, *Sunan al-Dārimī*, 2 vols., ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khālīdī (Beirut 1996). References to *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal* come from Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 6 vols. + 2 index vols., ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Sallām 'Abd al-Shāfi (Beirut 1993).

(1) *Miftāḥu al-ṣalāti al-wuḍūʿu wa-taḥrīmuḥā al-takbīru wa-taḥlīluḥā al-taslīmu.*⁹

(2) *Miftāḥu al-ṣalāti al-ṭuhūru wa-taḥrīmuḥā al-takbīru wa-taḥlīluḥā al-taslīmu.*¹⁰

(3) *Miftāḥu al-ṣalāti al-ṭuhūru wa-taḥrīmuḥā al-takbīru wa-taḥlīluḥā al-taslīmu wa-lā ṣalāta li-man lam yaqrāʾ bi-al-ḥamdu.*¹¹

The first line of P.Utah Ar. inv. 205 matches none of the parallels perfectly, but it comes close to matching the first *matn*. The words *al-ṭuhuru* and *al-wuḍūʿu* have similar meanings. *Ṭuhūr* refers to cleansing that Muslims undergo in order to be in a state of *ṭahāra* or ritual purity. *Wuḍūʿ* is the specific ritual ablution Muslims perform before prayer in order to be in a state of purity (*ṭahāra*).

There are also syntactic differences between the papyrus and the *matn*-s. The pronoun *huwa* and the prepositional phrase *minhā* in the phrase *al-wuḍūʿu huwa minhā faṭḥuhā* are superfluous, whereas the canonical *matn*-s have no extra words. The scribe also used the verbs *yuḥilluhā* and *yuḥarrimihā* instead of the nominal phrases *taḥlīluḥā* and *taḥrīmuḥā*. The canonical *matn*-s maintain parallel syntactical structure by using nominal phrases (*al-miftāḥu*, *taḥlīluḥā* and *taḥrīmuḥā*) while the scribe of P.Utah Ar. inv. 205 used a nominal phrase (*faṭḥuhā*) and then two verbal phrases (*yuḥilluhā* and *yuḥarrimihā*).

The papyrus text also differs from the canonical *matn*-s in the order in which the nouns *ṣalā*, *takbīr*, and *taslīm* appear. In the canonical *matn*-s, the order is *ṣalā*, *takbīr*, and *taslīm* whereas in the papyrus the order is *ṣalā*, *taslīm*, and *takbīr*. The order given in the *matn*-s is the one that medieval Muslims recognized as the proper order of the prayer ritual.

The scribe of P.Utah Ar. inv. 205 used the *wāw* to represent *hamza* in the word *al-wuḍūʿu*. In contrast to documentary papyri in which *hamza* is almost always omitted, the scribe consistently represented *hamza* in this text.¹² He used *alif* for *hamza* with vowel *fathā*, *wāw* for *hamza* with vowel *dhamma*, and dotted *yāʾ* for *hamza* with vowel *kasra*.¹³ The specific examples are: *al-wuḍūʿu*

⁹ Ibn Ḥanbal (n. 8) 1:161.

¹⁰ Abī Dāwūd (n. 8) 1:11 and 1:108; al-Dārimī (n. 8) 1:117; Ibn Ḥanbal (n. 8) 1:154; Ibn Mājah (n. 8) 45 (both *ḥadīth* have the same *matn*); al-Tirmidhī (n. 8) 1:3 (first *ḥadīth*).

¹¹ al-Tirmidhī (n. 8) 1:72.

¹² S. Hopkins, *Studies in Early Arabic Grammar Based upon Papyri Datable to Before 300 A.H./912 A.D.* (New York 1984) 19.

¹³ The use of *yāʾ* for *hamza* is quite common. Among the best explanations of the history of the orthography of *hamza* are W. Diem, "Some Glimpses at the Rise and Early

(recto, line 2), *asmā'uka* (recto, line 6; written with the wrong vowel as *asmāika*; see commentary below), *rā'sahu* (verso, line 1), and *shi'ta* (verso, line 4; written as *shītu*). Granted, there are some cases in P.Utah Ar. inv. 205 in which the orthography of *hamza* – or lack thereof – is debatable. For example, in *qirā'atihi* (recto, line 9) it is unclear if the *alif* here represents the *hamza* or *alif ṭawīla*. In *shay'an* (verso, line 3), the scribe omitted a letter that could have been either the *hamza* or the *yā'*.¹⁴ Nevertheless, there are no instances in which the scribe unambiguously omitted *hamza*.

3 The scribe use dotted *yā'* instead of *alif maqṣūra* in the *'alā*. He did the same thing in *ta'ālā* (recto, line 6), and *ḥattā* (verso, line 3). This orthography is more common in first/seventh and second/eighth-century papyri than it is in later texts.¹⁵

In the words *qāma* and *yaqūma* in this line, the scribe used one dot above the loop to designate the letter *qāf*. He wrote *qāf* in that manner throughout the text. He also consistently wrote *fā'* with one dot below the loop (recto, lines 3 [2x], 5, [4x], 6, 8, 9 [7x], and 10; verso, lines 1 [3x], 2 [3x], 3 [4x], 4 [4x], and 5). The only exceptions are *fathuhā* (recto, line 1) and *al-qunūtu* (recto, line 2) where the scribe used no dots at all. This way of dotting *fā'* and *qāf* is not uncommon in papyri through the end of the second/eighth century.¹⁶ This

Development of the Arabic Orthography,” *Orientalia* 45 (1976) 257-260; and W. Diem, “Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie II,” *Orientalia* 49 (1980) 97-105. In the former article, Diem is talking about Arabic orthography in inscriptions, but his observations are also pertinent for the study of papyri. See also Hopkins (n. 12) 19-32. Some examples from the papyrological record are Rāḡib, “Lettres arabes (II),” no. 9 (line 8, the name *Mu'mina*), and Diem, “Einige frühe amtliche Urkunden,” no. 10 (the word *abā'ihim* in line 2).

¹⁴ Wright cites examples of this orthography. W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 2 vols., 3rd ed., revised by W. Robertson Smith and M.J. de Goeje (Cambridge 1999 [1896]) 1:18.

¹⁵ See especially Hinds and Sakkout, “A Letter from the Governor of Egypt.” There word *'alā* is spelled with a dotted *yā'* in lines 5, 14, 64. Interestingly, in line 14 one finds the word *ya'tadī* (“he attacks”) with an undotted *yā'* followed immediately by *'alā* with dotted *alif maqṣūra*. There are also clearly undotted *yā'*-s in *'alā* in lines 18 and 67. One can find a clearer image of the papyrus in Rāḡib (n. 6, “L'écriture”) 19. J. Blau also comments on this papyrus in *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic* (Jerusalem 2002) 16, 57-60. Other papyri with pointed *yā'* for *alif maqṣūra* are CPR 16.9 (line 2); Rāḡib, “Lettres arabes (I),” no. 1 (line 11); CPR 26.16 (line 2), 36 (lines 1, 5, and 7). For more information on *alif maqṣūra* in the papyrological record, see Hopkins (n. 12) 6-8, 14-18, 57-59, 122, 124.

¹⁶ Grohmann mentions this feature of early papyri. See Grohmann (n. 2) 85. For an example of *fā'* with one dot below the loop, see Rāḡib, “Lettres arabes (I),” no. 2. For

archaic system of dotting *fā'* and *qāf* continued in the Maghrib long after it disappeared in Egypt and the East.¹⁷

Words based on the root *qāf-nūn-tā'* appear frequently in the Qur'ān.¹⁸ For example, in Qur'ān 2:238 one finds the phrase *hāfiẓū 'alā al-ṣalawāti wa-al-ṣalāti al-wuṣṭā wa-qūmū li-'l-lāhi qānitīna* ("keep the prayer – especially the midday prayer – and come to God reverently"). One meaning of *qānit* is "he who is standing reverently." Wensinck cites two *ḥadīth* in which the active participle *qānit* has that meaning.¹⁹ Those examples as well as the Qur'anic examples and the definitions provided by Ibn Manẓūr justify reading *qānitān* in recto line 3.

The phrase transcribed as *wa-al-qunūtu* above is the beginning of a new sentence. The word *qanūt* has many meanings. J. David-Weill, "Une page de traditions sur papyrus du III^e siècle de l'Hégire," in *Mélanges Louis Massignon* 3 (Damascus 1957) 375-381, leaves it untranslated, and so, following him, I leave it untranslated here too.²⁰

examples of *qāf* with one dot above the loop, see *P.Qurra* 4; Abbott, "A New Papyrus"; Hinds and Sakkout, "A Letter from the Governor of Egypt"; Rāḡib, "Lettres arabes (II)," no. 12; *CPR* 26.16.

¹⁷ Kaplony explains the difference between Maghribi and Mashriqi *fā'* and *qāf*. Kaplony (n. 6) 94.

¹⁸ See Qur'ān 2:116, 2:238, 3:17, 3:43, 4:34, 16:120, 27:14, 30:26, 33:31, 33:35, 39:9, 66:5, 66:12.

¹⁹ Abū Dawūd (n. 8) 2:240; Muslim (n. 8) 2:827. Wensinck used a different edition of the canonical collections.

²⁰ According to Ibn Manẓūr, *qunūt* can mean "the submission and the declaration of subservience (to God) and the standing in sinless devotion in which there is no sin" (*al-khushū' u wa-al-iqrāru bi-al-'ubuūdiyya wa-al-qiyāmu bi-al-ṭā'ati allāti laysa ma'ahā ma'ṣiyyatun*). See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 18 vols. (Beirut 2003) 12:196-197. Lane-Poole says *qunūt* can mean, "being obedient," "standing," and "standing in the divinely-appointed act of prayer." See St. Lane-Poole, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1 vol. in 8 pts. (Beirut 1968 [1865-1893]) 7:2566-2567. Wensinck says that *qunūt* is "... a technical term of the Islamic religion, with various meanings, regarding the fundamental signification of which there is no unanimity among lexicographers." As Wensinck points out, by the third/ninth century, *qunūt* had acquired many meanings, the most common of which was "short prayers" (*du'ā'*) or "recitations within the prayer ritual" specifically in regard to the *subḥ* / *fajr* and *witr* prayers. The word *qunūt* can also mean "standing" as in the following *matn*: *aḥḍalu al-ṣalāti ṭūlu al-qunūti* (the best prayer is standing for a long time). See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. *ḡunūt*. One of the specific *ḥadīth* that contain this phrase is: Muslim (n. 8) 1:299. Ibn Mājah relates a slightly different *matn* with the same meaning. It reads, *Su'īlu al-nabī 'ayyu al-ṣalāti aḥḍalu?* "Qāla "Ṭūlu al-qunūti." Ibn Mājah (n. 8) 208. In the *EI* 2 article, Wensinck translates this *ḥadīth* as "The best *ṣalat* (sic) is a long *qunūt*."

4 The phrase *raghbatan wa-rahbatan* appears many times in the *ḥadīth* collections. It usually occurs as an adverbial or adjectival phrase describing prayer e.g. *ṣallaytu raghbatan wa-rahbatan ilayka*.²¹ The scribe wrote *min rahbati Allāhi* but, according to Ibn Manẓūr, the prepositions *li-* or *ilā* would have been more proper, e.g. *rahbatan ilā Allāhi* and *rahbatan li-llāhi*.²²

5 Note that the scribe wrote *Allāhu huwa akbaru* instead of the more common *Allāhu akbaru*.²³ The structure of the phrase in the papyrus is similar to Qurʾān 22:62 and 31:30, both of which have the phrases *Allāhu huwa al-ḥaqqu* (“God, He is the Truth/the Reality”) and *Allāhu huwa al-ʿalīy al-akbaru* (“God, He is the Most Exalted, the Greatest”).

6 The canonical *ḥadīth* collections contain a nearly perfect parallel for the phrase *subḥānaka Allahumma wa-tabāraka asmāʾuka wa-taʿālā jidduka wa-lā ilāha ghayruka*. Abū Dawūd, Ibn Mājah, al-Nasāʾī, and al-Tirmidhī relate *matn*-s that are nearly identical to this line.²⁴ The only difference between the canonical *ḥadīth* and the papyrus text is the use of the singular *ismuka* in the former rather than the plural *asmāʾuka* (written incorrectly as *asmāʾika*) in the latter.

In the original, *taʿālā* is spelled without the plene *alif*, which accords with standard in Qurʾānic orthography.²⁵ The dotted *yāʾ* is not standard Qurʾānic orthography, but as mentioned above, it is common in papyrus texts.

The scribe used *yāʾ* to represent the *hamza* in *asmāʾuka* (written as *asmāʾika*). There are no recorded instances of scribe using dotted *yāʾ* to represent a *hamza* with the vowel *dhamma*; therefore, this is a misspelling.

According to Ibn Manẓūr, among the many meanings of *ḥanīf* are “Muslim,” “monotheist,” or “follower of the religion of Abraham in the pre-Islamic

²¹ Abū Dawūd (n. 8) 2:842; al-Bukhārī (n. 8) 1:54, 3:1284, 3:1285, 3:1514; al-Dārimī (n. 8) 2:231; Ibn Ḥanbal (n. 8) 3:180, 3:191, 4:356, 4:359, 4:368, 4:370, 5:283-284, 5:287; Ibn Mājah (n. 8) 557, 569-70; Muslim (n. 8) 2:1143-1144 (two *ḥadīth*); al-Tirmidhī (n. 8) 2:560, 2:872, 2:916. One also finds the phrase *qāla faʾayyuhum taʾūdu li-rahbatika wa-rahbatika*. See al-Tirmidhī (n. 8) 2:894-895. One finds *rahban wa-rahban* in Qurʾān 21:90. See also Ibn Manẓūr (n. 20) 6:240-241.

²² Ibn Manẓūr (n. 20) 6:240-241.

²³ For an example of the *takbīr*, see Qurʾān 29:45.

²⁴ Abū Dawūd (n. 8) 1:133 (same 1:146-147); al-Dārimī (n. 8) 1:19; Ibn Mājah (n. 8) 118-119; al-Tirmidhī (n. 8) 1:73-74 (three *isnād*-s). Al-Dārimī's *ḥadīth* includes the *taʾawwudh* (= *aʾūdhu bi-Allāhi al-samīʾi al-ʿalīmī min al-Shayṭāni al-raḥīmī min hamzihi wa-naḥthihi wa-naḥkhihi*).

²⁵ Abū ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dānī, *Kitāb al-Muqnʿi fī rasm maṣāḥif al-amṣār maʿa kitāb al-nuqaṭ*, ed. O. Pretzl (Istanbul 1932) 19.

era.” Most of his definitions, however, roughly equate *ḥanīf* with *muslim*.²⁶ It is best left untranslated.

6-8 There are nearly perfect parallels to these lines in the *ḥadīth* collections and in the Qurʾān (6:14 and 6:161-3).²⁷ The variation is minor: instead of using *wa-an akūna min al-Muslimīn* as in the papyrus, the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* use *wa-ana awwalu al-Muslimīn*. The syntax that the scribe used is, however, similar to another Qurʾānic passage (Qurʾān 6:14), the relevant part of which reads *qul innī umirtu an akūna awwala man aslama wa-lā takūnanna min al-mushrikīna*.

There is also an orthographic variation. In P.Utah Ar. inv. 205 the scribe included the dots to mark the final *yā*’s in the words *nusukī*, *maḥyāya*, *mamātī*, and *ṣalātī*. Classical Qurʾānic orthography does not dot these *yā*’s, even though they represent the first-person possessive pronoun *-ī*.²⁸

8 The scribe omitted one of the dots in the *yā*’ of the word *yaftatīhu* thereby giving the letter the appearance of *bā*’ rather than *yā*’. He did the same thing on the verso in the words *yashra’u* (line 1) and *yuṣallī* (line 2).

9 The second word of this line contains an interesting hypercorrect spelling of *al-Qurʾān*. The scribe spelled the word *alif-lām-qāf-rā’-wāw-alif-nūn*. The plene spelling of *al-Qurʾān* is *alif-lām-qāf-rā’-hamza-alif-nūn*. The Classical spelling is *alif-lām-qāf-rā’-alif mamdūda-nūn*. The *alif mamdūda* is an orthographic device that represents the combination of *hamza* and plene *alif*. The *alif mamdūda* came into existence no earlier than the third/ninth century. Without full vocalic marking (i.e., without the tilde on top of it), however, *alif mamdūda* looks like a regular *alif*. Hopkins cites a few examples in which scribes used two *alif*-s to represent *alif mamdūda*, but the general tendency is to omit the *hamza*.²⁹ Before the appearance of *alif mamdūda*, scribes simply used a regular *alif* to write the word *al-Qurʾān*, so it is curious that the scribe of this papyrus added a *wāw*. As mentioned in the commentary to line 1 there are no instances in which the scribe unambiguously omitted *hamza*; therefore, the *wāw* in *al-Qurʾān* must represent the *hamza* in that word.

Why the scribe chose *wāw* instead of writing two *alif*-s or omitting *hamza* altogether is difficult to explain. It seems that the scribe made his choice based

²⁶ Ibn Manẓūr (n. 20) 4:249-250.

²⁷ Abī Dāwūd (n. 8) 1:130 and 2:482; al-Dārimī (n. 8) 1:198 and 2:64; Ibn Ḥanbal (n. 8) 1:118, 1:128, 3:458; Ibn Mājah (n. 8) 458-459; Muslim (n. 8) 2:307-308; al-Nasā’ī (n. 8) 1:145-146 (two *ḥadīth*); al-Tirmidhī (n. 8) 2:879-881 (three *ḥadīth*). See also Qurʾān 6:79 and 6:161-163.

²⁸ al-Dānī (n. 25) 68-69.

²⁹ Hopkins (n. 12) 20, 22-24.

on the vowel *dhamma* (u) in the second syllable of *al-Qurʾān*. The *dhamma* is followed by *sukūn* which is followed by *fatha ʾawīla*. The scribe was intent on representing *hamza* somehow, but he must not have been sure if he should use *alif* or *wāw*. He chose *wāw*, resulting in a unique hypercorrect spelling of *al-Qurʾān*.

9-10 The parallel text in line 5 (*hidhāʾa mankibayhi*) provides the justification for reading *hidhāʾa* here also.

10 The graphemes and dots are clear, so editing the line is not especially challenging, but making sense of the words and translating the line proves very difficult. The words that are there simply do not make sense together. The translation above is highly tentative.

11 Only the tops of some of the letters of this line are visible.

Verso

1 There is a superfluous *alif* at the end of the line.

2 At the end of the line in the word, *jalasta*, the scribe shifted from third to second person, which indicates that this text served a functional instructional purpose.

3 The scribe used the energetic form in *tazīdanna*. The use of the energetic in the papyrological record is most common in first/seventh and second/eighth century texts, although there are a few instances in third/ninth century papyri.³⁰

4 The phrase *al-kalāmu al-ṭayyibu* appears in Qurʾān 35:10. Medieval Qurʾānic exegetes say that Ibn Masʿūd and other Companions said that *al-kalāmu al-ṭayyibu* were short invocations such as *subḥāna Allāhi wa-bi-ḥamdihi*, *al-ḥamdu li-llahi*, *lā ilāha illā Allāhu*, and *Allāhu akbaru*.³¹

4-5 The very last word in line 4 is nearly illegible. It appears to be three to five individual letters written on top of each other. Syntactically, *kāna* fits well here and, in addition, there is an example from the papyrological record to justify editing the word as *kāna*. Hopkins gives examples of the omission of the *alif al-waṣl* in *ibn* when *kāna* precedes it. At the beginning of line 5 the scribe omitted the *alif* of *ibn*. The papyrus published by David-Weill (note to

³⁰ Hopkins (n. 12) 70-71.

³¹ al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʾ al-bayan ʿan tāwīl āy al-Qurʾān*, 26 vols., ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī (Cairo 2001) 19:336-340. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, 8 vols., ed. Sāmī b. Muḥammad al-Salāma (al-Riyāḍ 1999) 6:536-537.

recto, line 3) line 12 has the phrase *kāna <I>bn Zubayr yuṣulli bi-nā*, which has the same syntax as the proposed reading given above.³² Therefore, the reading *kāna <I>bn Mas'ūd yaqūlu fī shahādātihi ...* is plausible.

6-7 Note that the transcription includes more words than would have fitted on line 6. These lines contain an abbreviated version of the *tashahhud* of Ibn Mas'ūd, a prayer formula still in use. Rather than guess at which words might not have appeared on the papyrus, I have given the entire *tashahhud* as it appears in the canonical hadith collections.³³

7 There are not two lines here but one. A horizontal strip of papyrus is missing from the middle of the line giving it the appearance of two lines, one missing the bottoms of the letters and the other missing the tops. However, a close look at the image shows that what remains are the tops and bottoms of the vertical strokes in the *alif*-s and *lām*-s of *Allāhi* and *al-ṣāliḥīna*.

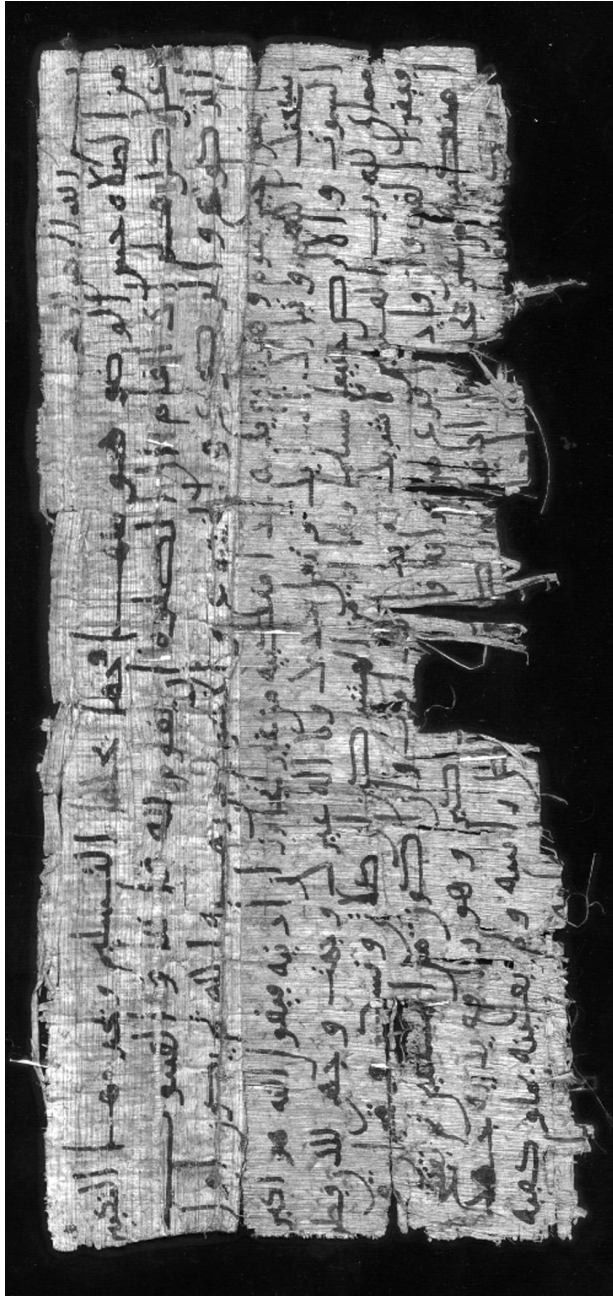
The phrase *<I>bn Mas'ūd yaqūlu fī shahādātihi ...* in verso, line 5 is clear, so it is possible to ascertain the subject of the following lines, badly damaged though they are. Although only three words are legible (... *Allāhi al-ṣāliḥīna ashhadu ...*), combined with evidence from the *ḥadīth* collections, they provide enough justification for the edition of the lines given here.³⁴

8 Only one word is visible.

³² Blau, (n. 15) 34-35; Hopkins (n. 12) 49-50.

³³ Abī Dāwūd (n. 8) 1:130 and 2:482; al-Dārimi (n. 8) 1:198 and 2:64; Ibn Ḥanbal (n. 8) 1:118, 1:128, 3:458; Ibn Mājah (n. 8) 458-9; Muslim (n. 8) 2:307-308; al-Nasā'i (n. 8) 1:145-146 (two *ḥadīth*); al-Tirmidhī (n. 8) 2:879-881 (three *ḥadīth*).

³⁴ The relevant *matn* reads: ... 'Abd Allāh (ibn Mas'ūd) qāla 'allamanā Rasūlu Allāhi an naqūla idhā jalasnā fī al-rak'atayni al-taḥiyyātu li-Allāhi wa-al-ṣalawātu wa-al-ṭayyibātu al-salāmu 'alayka ayyuhā al-nabiyyu wa-raḥmatu Allāhi wa-barakātuhu al-salāmu 'alaynā wa-'alā 'ibādī Allāhi al-ṣāliḥīna ashhadu an lā ilāha illā Allāhu wa-ashhadu anna Muḥammadan 'abduhu wa-rasūluhu. See Ibn Mājah (n. 8) 131-133; al-Nasā'i (n. 8) 1:188-190; al-Tirmidhī (n. 8) 85-87.



P. Utah Ar. inv. 205 recto



P. Utah Ar. inv. 205 verso

A Temple Declaration from Early Roman Egypt

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Abstract

Edition of P.Mich. inv. 132, a temple declaration (χειρισμός) of unknown provenance from the first century of Roman rule.

P.Mich. inv. 132

H x W = 22,5 x 13 cm

I AD

The lower margin is 3.8 cm. large. A vertical *kollesis* runs 9 cm from the left. Parts of two columns are preserved. The first column is incomplete on the left, while the second column is incomplete on the right. The preserved intercolumnar space is 2-3.5 cm wide. The verso is blank. The provenance of the papyrus is unknown. The script is that of a literary hand similar to no. 44 or 47 in G. Cavallo, *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri* (Pisa, Roma 2008).

The text is a γραφή ἐπέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ prepared by the priests of an Egyptian temple and submitted to the Roman authorities. Egyptian temples had to submit such a declaration at the end of each fiscal year. It included a list of objects in the temple, a list of priests κατ' ἄνδρα, and a statement regarding the temple's fiscal operations. The papyrus edited here does not preserve the γραφή ἐπέων *per se*, which would have followed the list of objects, nor does it preserve the statement of fiscal operations (including the temple budget), which would have followed the γραφή ἐπέων. What remains provides a rich inventory of objects with references to gods (Thermouthis, Dionysus, possibly Alexander the Great), precious metal (silver), objects of cult (a brazier of a censer, a (peri)rhanterion), and jewelry (a diadem, crowns, pearls, and pendants). Particularly notable are the crowns. Since the provenance is unknown, we do not know to what god the temple was dedicated nor where it was located.

The most recent discussions of temple inventories are those of E. Battaglia, "Dichiarazioni templari: a proposito di P. Oxy. XLIX, 3473," *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 79-99 (with list of documents), and F. Burkhalter, "Le mobilier des sanctuaires d'Égypte et les 'listes des prêtres et du cheirismos,'" *ZPE* 59 (1985) 123-134. Though dated, still of value (on the priests particularly) is O. Montevecchi, "Γραφαὶ ἐπέων," *Aegyptus* 12 (1932) 317-328. T. Grassi's brief monograph re-

mains helpful: *Le liste templari nell' Egitto greco-romano secondo i papiri* (Milan 1926). All extant temple declarations date to the Roman period, but it would not be surprising to find that these were modeled on Ptolemaic documents (cf. Battaglia 79, Montevechi 317).

Γραφαὶ ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ follow a formulaic pattern. They begin with an address in the style of a ὑπόμνημα: τῷ δεῖνι στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἄρσι(νοίτου) ... μερίδος παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος (followed by a patronymic) πρεσβ(υτέρου) ἱερέων ἱεροῦ λογίμου (followed by the name of a god) θεοῦ καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν ὄντος ἐν κώμῃ (followed by the name of a village). They are addressed to multiple officials including the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, the βιβλιοφύλακες τῶν δημοσίων λόγων, the ἐκλογιστής, as well as the ἐξεταστής (cf. Battaglia 82). The inventory edited here probably would have been sent to one of these officials. After the heading and the list of the people sending them, the texts continue with the declaration proper: γραφὴ ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ... (ἔτους) (imperial titulature) Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. Ἔστι δὲ τῶν ἐν ἱερῷ (name of the god). At this point, the listing of objects and goods begins, and the objects always precede the priests in the extant declarations. The present declaration preserves part of the list of objects only. After the objects and priests the γραφαὶ ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ include a statement of the temple's financial state as well as an annual budget. They conclude with subscriptions that include the names of the individuals sending the respective document as well as the date (cf. Battaglia 84-85).

Col. 1

	- - - - -
→	] . . . . ων $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$
	]δε . . . τατα
	] vacat
	] vacat
5	]φθεν ἀργυρου
	]γ δ
	Θέρ]μουθις βασίλην
	] vacat?
	]ετος λίθοι $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$
10	]ον στραγγεῖς ἔνκρικος
	] vacat
	] λίθοι [.] . πῡαλίδες κεναὶ $\overline{\beta}$
	] vacat
	] Ἀλεξάνδρου
15	] . . . . . ακοσε . . ου
	]σιμου

] Ἰακχον [
] . περιτο[
] υσ[.] ἐπίπυρον [
 20 στ]εφάνιον ἐν ᾧ λιθάρι[
] καὶ μέσος λίθος
] δια γ̄ μαργαριτάρια [
] . . . ἀργυρῇ ποδάρια [ἀ]ργυρῇ [
] . εις τύπος θεοῦ πρ[ο]τομ[

8 βασίλειον 10 στραγγίς ἔγκρικος

Col. 2

- - - - -
 25 [
 εντη . . [
 —
 [
 —
 στεφαν[
 [στ]εφαν[
 30 ῥαντηρ . [
 —
 κιβωτοὶ . [
 προσωπ . [
 —
 στρανγε[
 ἐπὶ τῆς κ . [
 35 ημισοῖσ[
 ζωδάρια [
 κηρυκάδι[
 . ιτα . ι . [
 - - - - -

33 στρανγε[

“21 ... (5) on the -side (of) silver ... 4 ... Thermouthis a diadem ... 25 (pre-
 cious) stones (10) ... a pendant enclosed in a ring ... (precious) stones ... two
 empty sockets ... of Alexander (the Great) (15) ... Iacchus ... brazier (of a censer)
 (20) ... a small crown in which there are small (precious) stones ... and a (pre-
 cious) stone in the middle ... 3 ... small pearls ... silver ... silver feet ... a figure of a

god ... (25) ... crown(s) ... crown(s) ... (30) (peri)rhanteri- ... chests ... portrait(s) ... pendant(s) ... upon the ... (35) ... figurines ... herald's (trumpet(s)) ..."

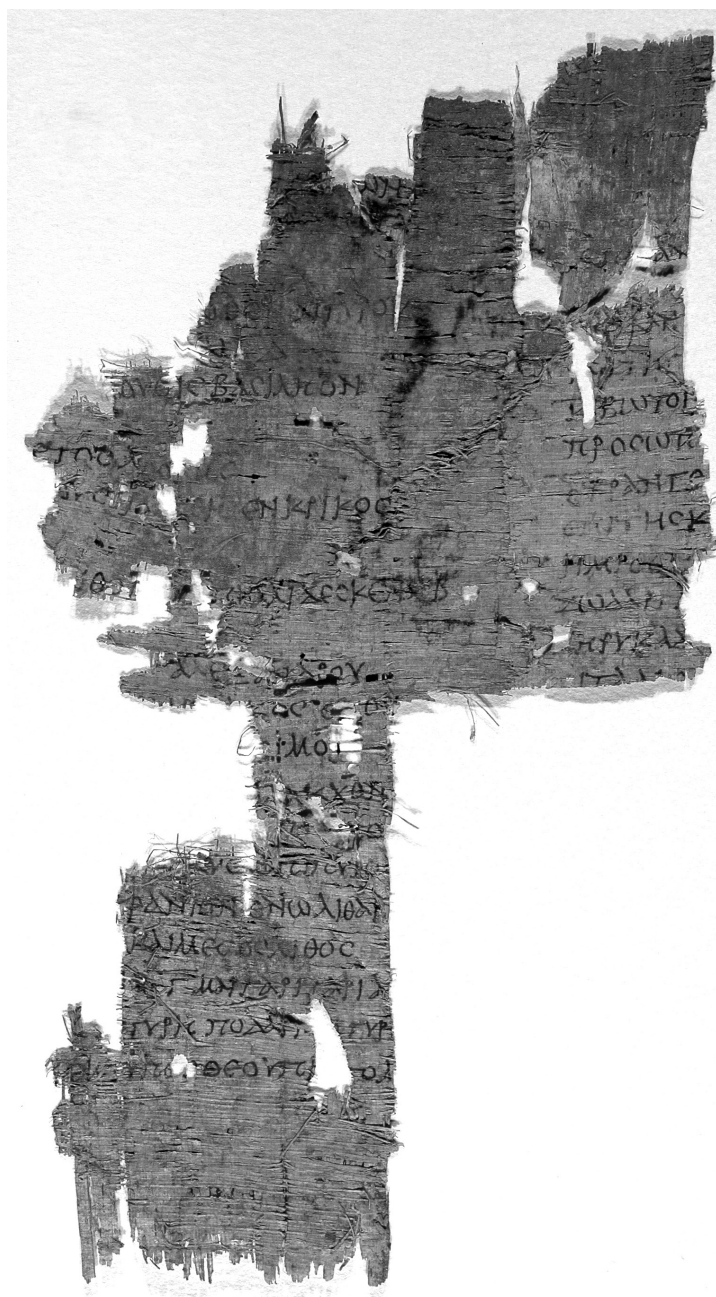
1 $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$: numbers are consistently overlined (lines 6, 9, 12, 22), as in *BGU* 13.2217, another temple inventory.

5 $\xi\sigma\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ or $\xi\xi\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$: the listed object is described as "(of) silver" on either the inside or the outside; see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 12.1449.44, another temple inventory, listing a lamp with a silvered outside and wooden "on the inside" ($\xi\sigma\omega\theta(\epsilon\nu)$ $\xi\upsilon\lambda(\iota\nu\eta)$). The more precious material would be on the outside.

- $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\upsilon$: adjective or substantive. The adjective occurs lower down (line 23). There are several silver objects in similar inventories. For example, *P.Bodl.* 1.49.6, an inventory of liturgical objects, lists a silver $[\lambda\omicron]\upsilon\tau\eta\rho(\iota\omicron\nu)$, and *P.Erl.* 21.3, a temple inventory, includes a $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma(\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\nu)$. For other probably silver objects see, e.g., $\pi\omicron\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$ (*PSI* 4.348.6), $\delta\alpha\kappa\tau(\upsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu) \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma(\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\nu)$ (*P.Mich.* 2.121r.2.2.8). The silver or silvered object here may have been an object used in public ritual or preserved as a private votive. Other temple inventories declare objects plated with precious metals; see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 3.521, *P.Oxy.* 12.1449, *P.Oxy.* 49.3473, *BGU* 13.2217.

7 $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho[\mu]\omicron\upsilon\theta\iota\varsigma$: the Greek name for the Egyptian goddess Renenutet, the cobra goddess associated particularly with defense of the king and fertility. In the Greco-Roman period, her identity was often fused with that of Isis. See the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* s.v. Renenutet for discussion and bibliography. Thermouthis was a common proper name in Roman Egypt, and the reference in the text may not be to the goddess but to a person, the dedicator of a votive. For example, in *P.Oxy.* 12.1449, a temple inventory, the dedicators of individual objects are mentioned when known. This would also help explain why the name is in the nominative, since if this were an object (e.g., a statue) depicting Thermouthis, we would expect the noun to be in the genitive (as in, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 49.3473.10; cf. line 14 below) or accusative (cf. line 17 below). However, since Thermouthis is followed by $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ in the account, it is perhaps more likely that Thermouthis refers to the goddess.

- $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\omicron\nu$: formed off the root $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda$ -, $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ refers to various "royal" things in Greek, but here it must refer to a tiara or diadem, as it does also in *P.Erl.* 21.3 and *P.Lond.* 7.1960.13, likewise inventories. See S. Russo, *I gioielli nei papiri di età greco-romana* (Florence 1999) 17, n. 54. Given the syncretism of Thermouthis and Isis, the $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ here may well refer to the $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ regularly associated with Isis-Hathor. On the Isis $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ see, with further bibliography, A. Kolde, "Paroles de Cobra (Bernand, *Inscr. Métr.* 102),"



in *Κορυφαίω ἀνδρὶ: mélanges offerts à André Hurst*, ed. A. Kolde, A. Lukinovich, and A. Rey (Genève 2005) 143-153 at 143-145.

9 λίθοι: this text lists numerous precious stones (lines 9, 12, 20, 21). For precious stones mentioned in another inventory, see, e.g., *BGU* 13.2217.13.

10 στραγγίς: see line 33 below for another occurrence of one or more “pendant(s).” The only time στραγγίς occurs in papyri elsewhere is at *P.IFAO* 2.40.8-9, in an unclear context.

- ἔγκρικος: the adjective ἔγκρικος is a *hapax legomenon*, but of regular formation. The use of κρίκοι (rings, hoops?) in jewellery has been much doubted. See Russo (note on line 7: βασίληον) 262, n. 24.

12 πυαλίδες: an alternative translation would be “sarcophagi.” In this context it is more likely that the πυαλίδες are sockets or settings that have lost their stone(s).

14 Ἀλεξάνδρου: The reference to Alexander, surely the Great, is noteworthy. The nominative subject for the dependent genitive is not preserved, but it is likely that the lacuna would have preserved a noun such as “portrait” *vel sim.* (cf. θεοῦ depending on τύπος in line 24 below).

17 Ἰακχων: the text presumably listed a work of art that “depicted” (perhaps expressed with a form of ἔχων taking the accusative) Dionysus (contrast lines 14 and 24 for the genitive with “portrait” or “figure”). For Dionysus and an Iaccharion (small shrine of Dionysus) in a temple inventory, see *P.Oxy.* 12.1449.46.

19 ἐπίπυρον: “brazier (of a censer).” This does not occur in other temple inventories, but see, e.g., *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59013.34. As objects of cult that would frequently be used in temple ritual, censers (θυμιατήρια) themselves are found regularly in temple inventories (e.g., *P.Oxy.* 3.521, *BGU* 13.2217). Burkhalter, *ZPE* 59 (1985) 132-133, thinks that censers, musical instruments, and other cult objects that are listed in temple declarations would have been used in contemporary rituals and would not have been preserved unused as votives.

20 στ]εφάνιον: the text lists numerous crowns (lines 7, 20, 28, 29). They are found widely in other inventories, such as *BGU* 13.2217. See Russo (note on line 7: βασίληον) 17-19.

- λιθάρι[: λιθάριον or λιθάρια. For λιθάρια see especially *P.Graux.* 2.10.8.

21 μέσος λίθος: given that the preceding line described a “crown embedded with jewels,” here the phrase may describe another crown “with a (big) jewel in the middle.”

22 μαργαριτάρια: see *P.Holm.* 2.37.

23 ποδάρια [ἀ]ργυρῇ may refer to small votive tripods, to small items of furniture, or to anything resting on small “legs.”

24 τύπος θεοῦ: cf. the mention of a statue *vel sim.* of Alexander (the Great) in line 14.

- προτομαί (if this is what is implied here) are listed in other inventories, such as *P.Oxy.* 12.1449.10.

27 Above this unread line is a *paragraphos*, which reappears above lines 28, 31, and 33. They are not checkmarks (as the dots used in the second column of *P.Bodl.* 1.49 are) but presumably divide rooms or boxes in which the listed objects were kept.

30 ῥαντηρ . [: perhaps a form of ῥαντήριον for περιρραντήριον; cf. *BCH* 35.286, 54.98. As in lines 19 and possibly 37, the text would list an instrument of ritual. Perirrhanteria are wide, shallow basins that sit above columns. They are made of stone, marble, precious metal, or ceramic. They were regularly given as dedications at Greek temples and were used to mark transitions between sacred and profane spaces. On Greek perirrhanteria see, with further bibliography, S.G. Cole *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: The Ancient Greek Experience* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London 2004) 43-47 and *passim*.

31 κιβωτοί: chests would have been used particularly for the storage of precious offerings; cf. Battaglia, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 86.

32 προσωπ . [: some form of πρόσωπον or προσωπεῖον “bust or portrait” (cf. LSJ s.v. πρόσωπον). The unread letter is round.

33 στραγγε[: cf. στραγγεῖς ἑγκρικος in l. 10 above and στραγγ(αλῖς) “pendant” restored in *P.Oxy.* 12.1449.18 and 23, also a temple inventory. See Russo (note on line 7: βασιλῆον) 221.

34 ἐπὶ τῆς κ . [: a phrase such as ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς describing a decorative ornament on the head of a statue *vel sim.* seems plausible.

36 ζωδάρια [: for ζωδαρίδια in temple inventories see *BGU* 13.2218.2 and *P.David* 1.10. See Grassi, *Liste templari* 32-34 for a discussion of such human and animal figurines. As she notes, such statuettes were commonly used as votive offerings.

37 κηρυκάδι[: this is the first attestation of the word κηρυκάδιον, formed from κηρυκ- + αδιον, presumably a herald’s trumpet. The suffix first appears in the late Hellenistic period and is particularly well attested in modern Greek;

cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* 1.3:38, P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien* (Paris 1933) 72, and especially L.R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 1 (London 1945) 88-89. As Battaglia notes (86-87), temple declarations “hanno una grande importanza di carattere antiquario, perché ci danno un’ idea della suppellettile dei templi, e di carattere lessicale, perché ci conservano molti termini rari o addirittura non attestati altrove.” κηρυκάδιον is such an example.

38 . ιτα . ι . [: the first, unread letter is round, the fifth, unread letter is triangular. εἰταλικ- for ἰταλικ- could be read, but this does not yield a satisfactory sense.

Payment of a Financial Obligation from Tebtynis¹

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Abstract

Edition of a Greek documentary papyrus from Tebtynis (*P.Tebt.* 2.523 descr.). The text is an acknowledgment of a recurring payment of a financial obligation dated to 161/2 and 164 CE.

P.Tebt. 2.523 descr. H x W = 23.5 x 15.7 cm Tebtynis, 161/2 and 164 CE

Light brown papyrus leaf of rectangular shape. The papyrus is complete at the bottom and on the right side. Margins: top, 2 cm; bottom, 2.6 cm; left, 2 cm; right, 6.6 cm. The left side is broken at the central part of the leaf, with up to 10 letters missing in line 14. The upper part has numerous wormholes and breaks which render the reading of the first two lines difficult. A very broad right-hand margin was kept, maybe to allow the document to be integrated into a τόμος συγκολλησίμιος, or as additional space for writing. The text is written in dark black ink along the fibers (→) in one column of 25 lines. Each line contains an average of 21-25 letters (line 20 contains only 6 or 7 letters). The verso (↓) is blank.

This papyrus was found during the 1899-1900 Tebtynis excavations conducted by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt and was assigned number T162 (written in black ink on the verso), indicating that the piece was found in the town of

¹ The present text was edited during the ASP Papyrological Summer Institute held at Brigham Young University in 2011. I would like to thank the BYU team, Roger Macfarlane, Stephen Bay, Lincoln Blumell, and Thomas Wayment, for their efforts in organizing the seminar, as well as all the visiting professors for their instruction and encouragement. I am especially grateful to Peter van Minnen, Roger S. Bagnall, Nikos Litinas, and Klaas A. Worp for helping me decipher and interpret the text, to Arthur Verhoogt, Rodney Ast, Jean Straus, and Marie-Hélène Marganne for agreeing to read the first draft of this paper, and to Todd Hickey and Maryline Parca for their valuable advice. I would also like to thank the Bancroft Library for permission to publish the text.

Tebtynis. The exact place of the find is however unknown.² *P.Tebt.* 523 was briefly (and incompletely) described in the second volume of the Tebtynis papyri,³ but has never been published.

The hand is a rapid well-executed second-century cursive with an upright axis. The initial letter of the first and second lines (π in Πτολλαρίων and c in Cαραπάμ[μω]γι) is bigger. Ligatures are abundant, especially with α, ε, ι, κ, and c. Some deforming ligatures can be seen: ει in Ἀντονεῖνου and αι in καί (l. 9), εc in ἐπεκομένων (l. 17), and ἔcχον (l. 21). Noteworthy is the presence of letters traced with a slower *ductus*, such as the ν written with three strokes (Παχών, l. 23) and the triangular δ (Ἀδρ[ια]νοῦ, l. 12). Two forms of κ can be seen: one cursive (e.g. τριακο[κ]ίας, ll. 14-15; κεφαλαίων, l. 16) and one in two strokes in which the semicircle is detached from the vertical stroke (καί, ll. 11, 16, 17); υ is written in two strokes (like the modern “v”) when detached from other letters (e.g. Ἀδριανοῦ, l. 12; ἑλαττουμένου, l. 17) and in a more cursive manner, with a curve to the right, when in ligature (κυρίων, l. 19). Horizontal *hastae* of final ν sometimes extended into the right-hand margin (ἐπεκομένων, l. 15; Cεβακτῶν, l. 19). The horizontal stroke extending into the margin at the end of line 3 is interpreted as belonging to the final c of ὁφείλε[ι]c. The beginning of the third line (Ἐc[χ]ον...) is slightly ἐν ἐκθέσει.

The handwriting of *P.Tebt.* 523 seems to correspond to the first of the two tendencies observed by Cavallo⁴ in the common cursive hands of the second and third centuries: rounded letter-forms, and some deforming ligatures, which can give the written surface an uneven aspect. An interesting parallel for this script can be seen in another papyrus from Tebtynis: *SB* 14.11488 (= *P.Tebt.* 2.524 descr.) dated to 146/7 CE.

The abbreviations and symbols are fairly common and attested in many documentary papyri: [γε]γυμ (line 1, with the μ written as curvy stroke over the υ) for γεγυμνασιαρχηκώς, δραχ (lines 10 and 14, with a supralinear χ) for δραχμάς, Ϛ (lines 8, 12, 23) for ἔτους, < (lines 22, 24, 25) for δραχμάς, Ϛ (lines 22 and 25) for γίνονται, λογ° for λόγου (l. 24). A supralinear stroke can be seen over the ι indicating the 10th day on line 23 (and probably over ιδ on line 21, but

² T162 is not included in any of the “T-Number groups” of texts likely to have been found together in the temple enclosure or in the town. See E.R. O’Connell “Recontextualizing Berkeley’s Tebtunis Papyri,” in J. Frösén, T. Purola, E. Salmenkivi (eds.), *Proceedings of the XXIVth International Congress of Papyrology* (Helsinki 2007) 2:816.

³ B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, E.J. Goodspeed *The Tebtunis Papyri* 2 (London 1907) 316: “Acknowledgement of the repayment of a loan. Dated in the second year of Marcus and Verus (AD 161-2). Incomplete. 25 lines.”

⁴ G. Cavallo, *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri* (Pisa, Roma 2008) 79-81.

the upper part of the letters is lost). In line 14 the scribe first wrote the symbol for δραχμάς before writing out δραχ (the delta is written over the symbol).

The text is an acknowledgment of a series of payments of money from a priest and his brother (who was perhaps also a priest) to a man called Ptollarion. The sum was paid on the account of the *philanthropa*⁵: [εἰς] λόγον φ[ι]/[λα]νθρώπων (l. 5-6). When used in reference to priests or temples, φιάνθρωπον or φιάνθρωπα usually signifies revenue received by the priest or a donation made to him.⁶ Is the fact that a priest is involved connected to the use of the word φιάνθρώπων? Since the priest Sarapammon is the payer, the term seems to allude to some sort of financial obligation the priest and his brother had towards Ptollarion. It is however impossible to determine with certainty the exact nature of this obligation.

In documents from Roman Egypt, the term φιάνθρωπον can have different meanings when concerning amounts of money: administrative fees, donations, pecuniary compensations, tips, gratuities, money loans (as in *P.Stras.* 5.386, unknown provenance, 196 [TM 18793], l. 6: ὑπὲρ φι[αν]θρ[ώ]που ἐπὶ λό(γου) ἀργυρίου), and bribes (as in *SB* 20.14576, Philadelphia, 43 [TM 14887]). The presence of [εἰς] λόγον “on account” could suggest that φιάνθρωπα refers to a loan of money from Ptollarion to the two brothers.⁷ Another possible interpretation is that Sarapammon had pledged his *philanthropa*, i.e. the perquisites from his priestly duties, as a security for the payment of his debt to Ptollarion.⁸

Contrary to a common practice in this type of document, the text does not begin with the date, but with the names of the people involved in the transaction.⁹ Following the order attested in parallels, we seem to have the name of the creditor in the nominative in the first line (Πτολλάρῳ) and that of the

⁵ The term φιάνθρωπα has a very concrete meaning in this text. H.J. Bell, “Philanthropia in the Papyri of the Roman Period,” in *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont* (Brussels 1949) 31-37, offers a survey of the concept of φιάνθρωπία and of the various usages of φιάνθρωπον/φιάνθρωπα in Roman Egypt.

⁶ W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel in hellenistischen Ägypten* 2 (Leipzig, Berlin 1908) 25; Bell (n. 5) 35; F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrurkunden* 2 (Berlin 1925) 692-692: “Spende an die Priester,” “Priesterbezüge.”

⁷ Bell (n. 5) 35 mentions *PFouad* 54 (unknown provenance, 141/2 [TM 20995]), in which a yearly payment of a debt is referred to as φιάνθρωπον καθ’ ἔτος.

⁸ As pointed out by Otto (n. 6) 25 regarding *SB* 1.5245, Soknopaiou Nesos, 13-15 (TM 9921).

⁹ Examples of repayments of loans which begin with a date: *BGU* 2. 394 (137, Nilopolis), *P.Amh.* 2.111(132, Herakleia), *P.Fam.Tebt.* 9 (107), *P.Lips.* 1.7 (107 BC, Krokodilopolis). Some documents, however, begin directly with names of the creditor and the debtor: *BGU* 7.1656 (213, Philadelphia), *P.Oxy.* 1.98 (141/2), *P.Oxy.* 14.1715 (292).

debtor in the dative in the second line (Cαραπάμ[μω]γι). The central part of the first line, including the last part of the creditor's name, is illegible, but based on [γε]γυμ(νασιαρχηκώς) at the end of the same line, we could restore it as Πτολλαρίων.¹⁰ The creditor, Sarapammon, is a priest. Curiously, neither one of the names seems to be followed by a patronymic. Since the debtor's name is in the dative, we could also expect a greeting, likely χαίρειν,¹¹ but it does not seem possible to read this at the end of line two.

The information concerning the payments begins in line three. We learn that Sarapammon and his brother Pa-, who has died, owed money to Ptoollarion, and that the priest has fulfilled the payment obligations (or at least partially) in installments. From November/December (Ἀδριανοῦ) of the twenty-third year of Antoninus Pius (κ[γ] Τίτρου Αἰλίου) to October/November of the twenty-fourth year of the same emperor (161 CE), which is also the first year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus ([Α]θὺρ τοῦ εἰκοστοῦ τετάρτου (ἔτους) / [καὶ τοῦ] πρώτου Ἀντ[ωνεῖνου καὶ Οὐ[ερ]ήρου), five hundred seventy six drachmas were paid. From November/December of the first year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus, three hundred drachmas or more were paid.

The creditor demands that he not suffer any decrease in respect to the principal, interests and other amounts (ἐπεκομένων) still owed. The first part of the document is dated to the second year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus in lines 18-20 (161/2). Lines 20 to 25 were added later by the same hand: on the 14th of Pharmouthi in the second, third or fourth year (April 9th), the creditor received three hundred drachmas. On the 10th of Pachon of the fourth year (May 5th, 164),¹² he received four hundred eighty drachmas. It seems likely that the creditor kept the document and had the acknowledgements written every time the debtor paid another installment. Every installment is introduced by the adverb ὁμοίως, which refers back to the opening formula of the acknowledgement (Ἐφ[χ]ρον [π]αρά [κοῦ ...). The ink of the last line is paler, but it does not seem that the line was added later or by a different hand. Perhaps the scribe, knowing that there were only a few words left to write, did not tip his pen in the ink one more time.

The series of payments can be presented in chart form:

¹⁰ See the note on line 1.

¹¹ Attested in documents of this type, e.g. *BGU* 7.1656, *P.Tebt.* 2. 396 (396).

¹² Grenfell, Hunt, Goodspeed seem to have failed to notice this dating.

	Ancient Date	Modern Date	Amount
1	From Ἀδριανός of the 23rd year of Antoninus Pius to Ἀθύρ of the 24th year of Antoninus Pius (= 1st year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus)	From November/December 160 to October/November 161	576 drachmas
2	Ἀδριανός of the 1st year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus	November/December 161	300 drachmas
3	14th of Φαρμουῖθι of the 2nd, 3rd, or 4th year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus	April 9th, 162, 163 or 164	300 drachmas
4	10th of Παχών of the 4th year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus	May 5th, 164	480 drachmas

As regards the third payment, it could logically be assigned to any of the three years (162, 163 or 164). However, the third date is not very probable, for it would mean that Sarapammon (and maybe his brother Pa-) would have come up with 300 drachmas in less than a month. The most likely date for the third installment would be the 9th of April, 163, inasmuch as the debtor(s) would have had one year and five months to collect the necessary amount.

The payment of money loans in installments could be stipulated already in the loan agreement, as shown in *P.Mert.* 1.25, a loan of money from Oxyrhynchus, dated to 214 CE (TM 21299). An interesting parallel to *P.Tebt.* 2.523 is *P.Oxy.* 1.98 (141/2; TM 20757), an acknowledgement of the payment of the second and last installment (168 drachmas) of a loan of 700 drachmas.¹³ A more concise witness of payments in installments is *P.Col.* 8.210 (TM 17624), a receipt from the year 3 CE of unknown provenance.

There is no signature, nor is there mention of circumstances surrounding the writing of the document (if, for example, it was written in a γραφεῖον, by a professional scribe). It is possible that it was written by Ptollarion himself or by his personal secretary. In fact, the absence of information such as the name of the city or town where the document was written, the patronymics of the persons involved, mention of a register's office, and the concise nature of the text suggest that it is a personal transaction between people who knew each other and maybe did not feel the need to validate the document in a more official manner.

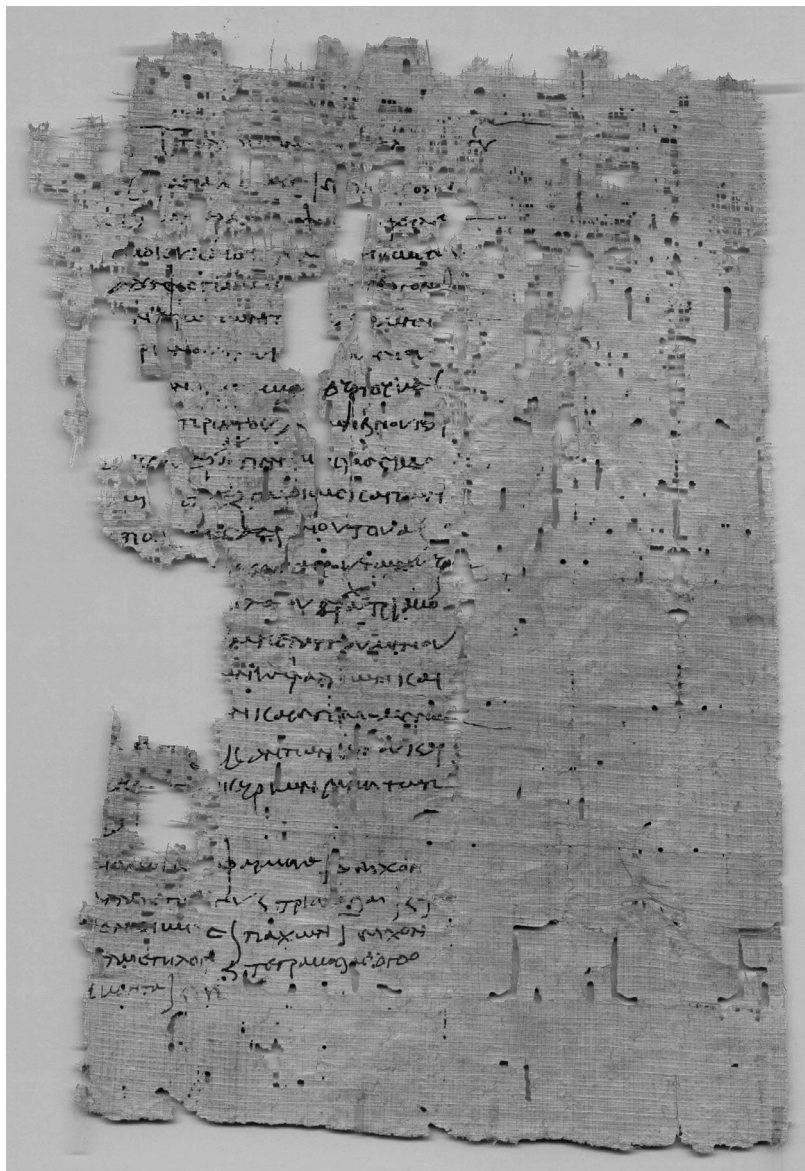
¹³ Fifty monthly payments of 15 drachmas are also mentioned in this papyrus, but the relationship of these payments to the 700-drachmas loan is not clear.

Except for a forgotten ι in Φαρμοῦθι (l. 21), there are no scribal errors or spelling peculiarities. Iotacism accounts for the ει in Ἀντωνείνου, a spelling attested very often in documents from Egypt.

- Πτολλαρίων [ca. 2 γε]γυμ(νασιαρχηκώς)
 Σαραπάμ[μω]γιῖ ἱερεῖ ο . . .
 Ἔς[χ]ον [π]αρά [cou ἁ]φ'ῶ[ν ὁ]φείλε[ι]ς
 ἔμοι ζὺ καὶ ὁ τ[ε]λ[ευτ]ηκὼς σου
 5 ἀδελφὸς Πα [ca. 4] vac. [εἰς] λόγον φ[ι-]
 [λα]νθρώπων τ[ῶ]ν ἀ[π]ὸ μην[ός]
 [Ἀδ]ριανοῦ τοῦ κ[γ] (ἔτους) Τίτ[ου] Αἰλίου
 [Ἀντ]ωνεῖνου ἔως . [Ἀ]θὺρ τοῦ κδ (ἔτους)
 [τοῦ καὶ] πρώτου Ἀ[ντ]ωνείνου καὶ
 10 Ὁ[ὕ]ηρου δραχ(μάς) πεντακοσίας ἑβδο-
 μή[κο]ντ[α] ἕξ, ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν
 ἀπὸ μ[η]νός Ἀδρ[ια]νοῦ τοῦ α (ἔτους)
 [Ἀντωνείνου] καὶ Ὁ[ὕ]ηρου τῶν κυρ[ί]ων
 [Σε]βαστῶν ἐπὶ λό[γ]ου [(δραχμάς)] δραχ(μάς) τριακο-
 15 [σίας ca. 4] μὴ ἐλαττουμένου
 [μου ὑπὲρ τ]ῶν κεφαλ[αί]ων καὶ
 [τῶν τόκω]ν καὶ ἐπεσομένων
 . . . (ἔτους) β Ἀντωνείνου καὶ
 [Ο]ὕηρου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν
 20 [Ἀ]θ[ύρ ca. 2] vacat
 Καὶ ὁμοίω[ς] Φαρμοῦθ<ι> ἰδ ἔσχον
 ἄλλας ἐπὶ λό[γ]ου (δραχμάς) τρια[κ]οσίας (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) τ.
 Καὶ ὁμοίως δ (ἔτους) Παχὼν ἰ ἔσχον
 [ἄ]λλας ἐπὶ λόγ[ο]ν (δραχμάς) τετρακοσίας ὀγδο-
 25 ἦκοντα (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ὑπ
- 3 Ἔς[χ]ον slightly in *ekthesis* pap.

“Ptollaron ... former gymnasiarch, to Sarapammon, priest ... I received from you from what you and your dead brother Pa- owe me on the account of the *philanthropa* ... from the month of Hadrianos of the 23rd year of Titus Aelius Antoninus to Hathyr of the 24th year, which is the 1st year of Antoninus and Verus, 576 drachmas, likewise from the month of Hadrianos of the 1st year of Antoninus and Verus, the lords Augusti, 300 drachmas on account ... with no prejudice to me concerning the principal sums, the interests and the other amounts. In the second year of Antoninus and Verus, the lord Augusti, on the ... of Hathyr.

And likewise on the 14th of Pharmouthi I received on account another 300 drachmas, and likewise on the 10th of Pachon of the 4th year, I received on account another 480 drachmas.”



(Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, UC Berkeley)

1 Πολλάρϊων . . . [ca. 2 γε]γυμ(νασιαρχηκώς): two gymnasiarchs by the name of Ptollarion are attested in papyri from Tebtynis from the mid-second century: Ptollarion son of Pauleinos¹⁴ cited in 20 papyri dated to the mid-second century (approximately from 144 to 176) and Ptollarion son of Ptollarion,¹⁵ mentioned in SB 6.9370 from Tebtynis and dating from ca. 150 (TM 14164), who is perhaps the same gymnasiarch attested in *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.140¹⁶ (Tebtnis, 176; TM 12383). In every occurrence, they are referred to as “former gymnasiarchs” (γεγυμνασιαρχηκώς).

2 Cαραπάμ[μω]γι̅ ιερεῖ: a priest named Sarapammon is attested in one document from Tebtynis: *P.Tebt.* 2.390, dated to 167 (TM 13546), an acknowledgment of a loan on mortgage from Helene, daughter of Zoilos, to three brothers, Pakebkis, Sarapammon, and Onnophris, sons of Onnophris, all of them priests of Tebtynis. After ιερεῖ, the indication of the god or the place where Sarapammon is a priest could be expected, as well as a greeting formula, most likely χαίρειν, since the name is in the dative.

3 Ἐς[χ]ον: according to Kühnert,¹⁷ ἔχειν is used in the loan agreements referring to the debtor (who has received money from the creditor), while the compound ἀπέχειν appears in documents concerning the return of loans, where it is the creditor who receives the money. This distinction however is not always made in the papyri, since ἔσχον is attested in a number of repayment documents, e.g. *BGU* 1.115 (Ptolemais Euergetis, 189; TM 8887), *BGU* 7.1659 (Philadelphia, third century; TM 30952), *P.Fam.Tebt.* 36 (156; TM 20965).

- ὀφείλε[ι]c: unlike δανείζειν or παρατίθεσθαι, ὀφείλειν is not a specific term referring to a particular type of loan. The verb has the neutral meaning of “to owe” and can be used in documents concerning any type of money transaction.¹⁸ Here, the traces would fit better the second person singular of the present tense, though a second person plural would be expected with the compound subject (σὺ καὶ ὁ τ[ε]τ[ε]λ[ευτ]ηκώς σου / ἀδελφὸς Πα-).

5 Πα . . . [: *exempli gratia*, Πακῆβκις: if the person in question is Pakebkis, son of Onnophris from *P.Tebt.* 2.390, the reading of τετελευτηκώς on

¹⁴ P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* (Zutphen 1968) no. 93.

¹⁵ Sijpesteijn (n. 14) no. 110.

¹⁶ Sijpesteijn (n. 14) no. 202.

¹⁷ H. Kühnert, *Zum Kreditgeschäft in den hellenistischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian* (diss. Freiburg 1965) 141.

¹⁸ Kühnert (n. 17) 146.

line 4 is invalidated, since Pakebkis was still alive in 167, when *P.Tebt.* 2.390 was written.

5-6 [εἰς] λόγον φ[ι]/[λα]νθρώπων: reading suggested to me by Rodney Ast, to whom I express my sincere thanks.

7 κ[γ] (ἔτους): probable, if not certain, restoration. A one-year time period seems to be in question, since there is a twelve-month interval between the months of Ἀδριανοῦ and Ἀθύρ.

8 ἕως .: difficult reading. There seems to be a ligature between the lunate c and the illegible letter before [Ἀ]θύρ. A diagonal stroke descends towards the left and finishes under the ω of ἕως. It could be a prolonged left leg of a λ, which could then be interpreted as the numeral 30 (“on the 30th of Pharmouthi”). It does not seem very common to note the day before the name of the month in papyri. In *P.Wisc.* 2.72 (TM 26687), a letter from Caecilius Gemmelus to his sister dated to the second century, we read (ll. 9-10) τῇ κ/ Φαρμουῖτι “on the 20th of Pharmouthi.” The parallel may not be relevant due to the presence of the article in the dative. In *SB* 14.11958 (TM 15481), a part of a billing for the works on a temple from Oxyrhynchites, dating from after November 17th, 117, one reads ἕως ᾗ Ἀθύρ “until the 30th of Hathyr.” In *P.Münch.* 3.94 (TM 12477), a contract for a money loan from Ptolemais Euergetis, dated to 98-102, the numeral of the day precedes the name of the month without preposition or article: κ Φαρμουῖτι “on the 20th of Pharmouthi.”

8-9 τοῦ κδ (ἔτους) / [τοῦ καὶ] πρώτου Ἀ[ντ]ωνείνου: dating formulae in which the last year of one emperor is identified with the 1st year of another are attested, e.g., in *P.Oxy.* 1.98 (141/2): [τοῦ] δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ὃ ἐς[τ]ι πρώτον ἔτος Ἀντωνίνου Κ[αίσαρος] τοῦ κυρίου.

15 [cίac c. 4]: One possible, but not certain restoration for the lacuna would be: [cίac (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) τ]. μὴ ἐλαττωμένον. This formula is often used in documents concerning money transactions, as a “protection clause” for the creditor.¹⁹

16 ὑπὲρ: either περί or ὑπέρ are suitable with the verb ἐλαττοῦμαι.

17 ἐπεσόμενων: the future participle of ἐπεῖναι (Preisigke, *WB* 2:534, ἐπειμι: “da sein”) is mostly attested in reference to people (e.g., τὰ ἐπεσόμενά μοι τέκνα, *P.Oxy.* 3.495 [181-184; TM 20631]; τοῖς ἐπεσόμενοις ἐξ αὐτῶν

¹⁹ G. Häge, “Die μὴ ἐλαττωμένον-Klausel in den Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens,” in D.H. Samuel (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (Toronto 1970) 195-205.

δουλικοῖς ἐκγόνοις, *P.Mich.* 5.322a [Tebtynis, 1/11/46; TM 12132]). In one occurrence the term is applied to animals (βόες δύο καὶ τὰ ἐπεσόμενα τούτοις, *SB* 8.13168 [Pathyris, 123 BC, TM 468] and in another, to time (τῶν ἐπεσομένων χρόνων, *P.Ryl.* 2.157 [Hermopolites, 18/06/135; TM 19511]). There are however some occurrences of the word referring to objects or money, including *philanthropa*, in *PSI* 9.1018, dated to 107 BCE: ἀγνευτικῶν καὶ πάντων λοιπῶν καὶ καρπεῶν καὶ ἐπεσομένων φιλανθρώπων. If the reading ἐπεσομένων is accepted, the word would probably refer to the installments that were still to be paid.

20 [Α]θ[ὺρ ca. 2]: possible, if not certain restoration.

22 ἄλλας ἐπὶ [λό]γου (δραχμας) : formula attested in many receipts (e.g.: *P.Oxy.* 12.1522 verso [after 222; TM 21898], *SB* 12.10895 [Diospolis Magna or Koptos, 118 BC; TM 4382]), but not in personal money loans.

A *sitologos* Receipt from Roman Tebtynis¹

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Abstract

Edition of a *sitologos* receipt from Tebtynis in the collection of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. The receipt records multiple payments of taxes on public land in the year 183 CE by two brothers who may have been priests.

P.Tebt.suppl. 1,075-1,077 H x W = 13.8 x 13.7 cm

7 June 183 CE

This text from Tebtynis preserves portions of a receipt from a *sitologos* for taxes on public land paid in kind. The four extant fragments can be placed in their original positions relative to one another with a reasonable degree of certainty based on both their content and physical characteristics (see ll. 7-10n. and ll. 11-12n. below). The papyrus, the text of which is written *transversa charta*, was broken along its vertical fibers, which run at a slight angle in relation to the left and right edges; the largest fragment lines up to the right of the break, while the remaining three are to the left of it. The fabric of the papyrus is light-brown in color with sparse wormhole damage; on the upper left fragment there is some darkening. The reassembled fragments contain portions of 17 lines, with margins of 2.0 cm to the left, 1.7 cm at the top, and writing extending clear to the right edge. The bottom is the only edge of which no portion remains. The excavators' number T29 appears on the verso of each of the fragments except (c), which suggests that it may have been attached to one of the other fragments at the time of excavation. T29 falls within the range of T-numbers assigned to texts that are believed to have been uncovered within the temple enclosure.²

The receipt records payments credited to two brothers, Maron and Pakebkis, the sons of a certain Marepsemis. These three names (Maron, Pakebkis, Marepsemis) were quite common among the priests residing in Tebtynis during this period (see *P.Tebt.* 2.292, 293, 295, 298, 301, 303, 309, 313). While

¹ I would like to offer special thanks to Todd Hickey for his help in the preparation of this edition.

² E.R. O'Connell, "Recontextualizing Berkeley's Tebtunis Papyri," *PapCongrXXIV*, 818.

we cannot be certain that these brothers were priests, the probable findspot (as indicated by the T-number) and onomastics are highly suggestive. *P.Tebt.* 2.302 records the existence of 500 1/4 arouras of “royal land” (βασιλική γῆ) leased to the Tebtynis temple by the state in place of an annual subvention (σύνταξις), presumably at a low rate.³ It has long been suggested that tracts of land in Tebtynis described as “public priestly land” (δημόσια ἱερευτικὰ ἐδάφη; *P.Tebt.* 2.311) or “royal priestly land” (γῆ βασιλικὴ ἱερευτική; *P.Tebt.* 2.390; *PSI* 10.1143; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 6.274) may have been part of this 500 1/4 arouras.⁴ Tax payments made in connection with these tracts are indicated by the genitive δημοσίων, the same term employed here and used consistently in this class of documents when public land (δημοσία γῆ, βασιλική γῆ) is involved.⁵ Hence, it is possible that this receipt reflects taxes paid on such priestly land.

- 1 ἔτους τρίτ[ο]υ καὶ εἰκοστοῦ Μάρκου
 Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου
 Καίσαρο[ς τοῦ] κυρίου Παῦνι ἱγ.
 4 Κροῖω[ν καὶ] μέτοχοι σιτολ(όγοι) κώμης
 [.] μεμετρήμεθα ἀπὸ
 [τῶν γεννημ]άτων {α} τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους
 [π]υροῦ μέτ[ρ]ω δημοσίῳ ξυστῶ
 8 εἰς Μάρωνος[ς] καὶ Πακῆβκεως ἀμφοτ(έρους)
 Μαρεψήμε[ως] δημοσίων (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) λζη/
 Πακῆβκις Μα[ρεψή]μεως . [.] . [. . .]
 . [.] . . . [.] ο[.] . ο[.] δημο]-
 12 σίω (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) γῆ[/]
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ[.]
 οἱ αὐτοὶ δημ[οσίων]
 Πακῆβκις Μ[αρεψή]μεως
 16 δημοσίω[ν] . . [.]
 [.] . [.]
 - - - - -

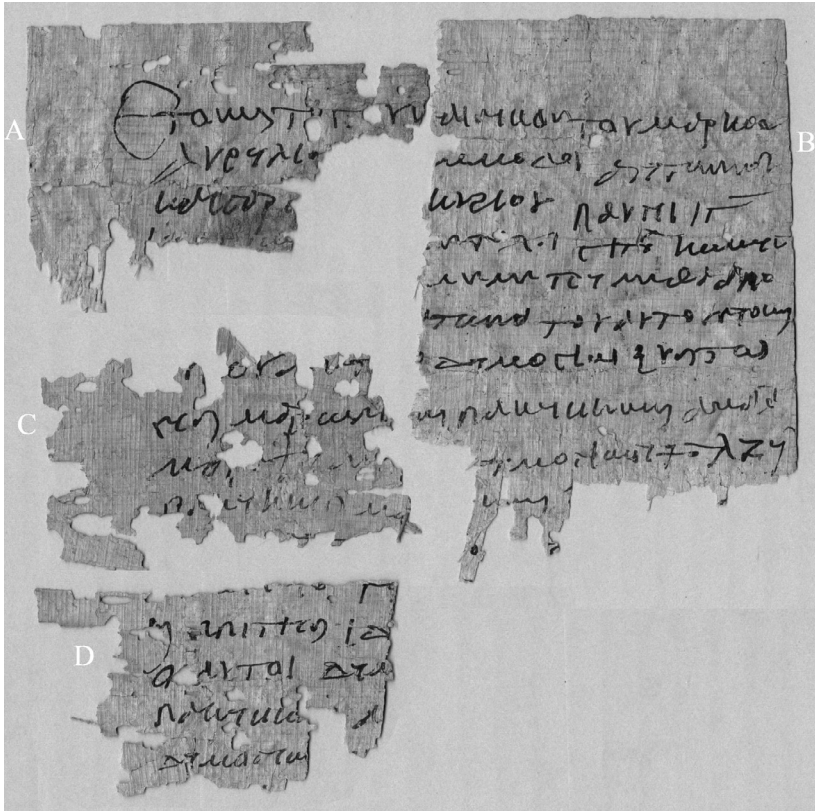
4 σιτο^λ pap. 5 π of ἀπὸ corr. 8 l. Μάρωνα καὶ Πακῆβκιν; ἀμφο^τ pap.

³ A. Monson, “Sacred Land in Ptolemaic and Roman Tebtunis,” *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum* (Wiesbaden 2005) 85.

⁴ Monson (n. 2) 89.

⁵ Regarding the descriptions δημοσία γῆ and βασιλική γῆ as substantively referring to the same category of land see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996) 38-40.

“Year twenty-three of Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord, Payni 13. We, Kronion and partners, *sitologoi* of the village of ..., have had measured to us from the produce of the same year, by leveled public measure of wheat, to the credit of Maron and Pakebkis, both sons of Marepsemis, for taxes on public land, 37 1/8 artabas of wheat.” (The remainder of the document is too fragmentary to translate.)



1 The *upsilon* in *ἔτους* contains an extra stroke.

4 Three *sitologoi* named Kronion are attested, but only one of these men was active during the latter half of the second century. *P.Corn.* 43 is a receipt issued in 181 by two *sitologoi* of the village of Philadelpheia, one of whom is named Kronion son of Diogenes. Given the distance, however, between Tebtynis and Philadelpheia, he is unlikely to be the same official who issued this receipt.

5 The name of the village with which these *sitologoi* were associated has been lost. The obvious possibility, Τεβτύνεως (or Τεπτύνεως), would bring the total number of letters in the line to 23. The other lines of the receipt that can be deduced are 24-28 letters wide with an average of 26 letters.

6 The half-completed *alpha* appended to the end of γεννημάτων may have been the result of proceeding directly to αὐτοῦ before the mistake was realized.

7-10 The content of fragment (c) makes its placement here relatively certain. First, the formulaic πυροῦ μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ξυστῶ, which only rarely occurs more than once in the same document, is split here between fragments (b) and (c). Further, in receipts that record multiple payments the εἰς phrase often (though not always) occurs in connection with the first payment and is then omitted from additional instances, in which the person credited with payment is in the nominative and the wording is compressed (cf. *P.Tebt.* 2.366, 367; *P.Berl.Leihg.* 1.12).

8-9 A certain Maron and his brother Pakebkis, both sons of Marepsemis, are named as creditors in a receipt from Tebtynis for the repayment of a loan (*PSI Corr.* 1156). That receipt, however, is dated 14 May 130 and gives the brothers' ages as 39 and 37, respectively. Thus, it seems highly unlikely that the brothers mentioned in this receipt over 53 years later are the same pair.

9 In this context δημοσίων is assumed to be neuter (τὰ δημόσια) and to refer to taxes on public land (see the introductions to *P.Fay.* 81 and *P.Tebt.* 2.365). During the Roman period these varied from approximately 2 to 7 artabas per aroura with the "norm" being close to 3 (Rowlandson [n. 4] 72, 75). If one conjectures a rate of 3 art./ar., then the payment listed on l. 9 would represent a tax on just over 12 arouras, and that on l. 12, just over 1 aroura. If the brothers were priests, however, (see introduction) the rate on the land in question may have been lower than average.

10-12 These lines record a second payment, perhaps made concurrently with the first and presumably pertaining to property leased solely by Pakebkis. The lacuna in l. 12 may have held an additional payment or perhaps the total of the first two payments.

11-12 The placement of the bottommost fragment is somewhat problematic. I have positioned it here so that the right edge lines up optimally with the angle created by the left edge of fragment (b). It is impossible, however, to rule out a slightly lower position, in which case one or more lines would need to be inserted between lines 11 and 12.

13-14 The initial payment recorded on the receipt is dated Payni 13. Thus, the sense of these lines is most likely, "...and on the 14th [τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός (?)](we had measured to us) to the credit of the same persons for taxes on public land [X artabas of wheat]."

15-16 This fourth transaction mirrors the second in that it involves only one of the brothers, Pakebkis. Thus, the extant portions of the receipt record a total of at least four payments as follows: first (ll. 1-9); second (ll. 10-12); third (ll. 13-14); fourth (ll. 15-16). Of the four total, there appear to have been two payments per day on consecutive days: one payment each day for property leased by the brothers jointly and an additional payment for property leased by Pakebkis alone. (For another example of a receipt issued by a single *sitologos* that records payments credited to the same party on consecutive days cf. *SB* 14.11852.)

Letter from a Soldier in Pannonia

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Abstract

Edition of a private letter from the Egyptian recruit Aurelius Polion of *legio II Adiutrix* stationed in Pannonia Inferior. Writing home, he complains of receiving no letters and mentions furlough. There is a third-party address on the back. The Greek hand has Latinate features, including the occasional use of interpuncts.

This private letter comes from the expedition of Grenfell and Hunt at Tebtynis, which began on December 3, 1899. The T-number written on it prior to shipment, T520, indicates that the letter was found before the excavators turned to the cemeteries on January 5, 1900; that the T-number is high suggests that the find spot was the Roman town somewhere outside the temple.¹

Right and left margins are more or less intact, as is much of the top. However, the bottom of the papyrus breaks off before the end of the salutation and the closing formula, with some lines missing. There is one damaged line of text, which could be a postscript, running up the left margin at 90 degrees.² It does not carry over onto the back, which seems to feature a double address, one longer, perhaps with delivery instructions, now mostly illegible, followed by another, shorter, third-party address. Lacunae are numerous throughout, especially in the left half (back: top half) of the papyrus.

To add further challenge, besides inconsistency of spelling there are morphological irregularities, and the hand is not practiced. It can be categorized as an “alphabetic” personal hand comparable, for instance, to *P.Köln* 1.56 (private letter, first/second century), although it is not quite so unpracticed.³ Characters are written slowly and for the most part separately. Lines are wavy and in

¹ E.R. O’Connell, “Recontextualizing Berkeley’s Tebtunis Papyri,” in J. Frösén et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the XXIVth International Congress of Papyrology* (Helsinki 2007) 2:811-819.

² Discussion of other letters with marginal text in R. Luiselli, “Greek Letters on Papyrus, First to Eighth Centuries: A Survey,” *AS/ÉA* 62 (2008) 707-708.

³ Categorization based on the typology in R. Bagnall and R. Cribiore, *Women’s Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC-AD 800* (Ann Arbor 2006) 45.

general slope downward to the right. Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed frankly describe it as “a rude uncial hand” and the Greek as “very poor.”⁴

While unpracticed, the hand has Latinate features worth attention. Interpuncts are used occasionally. As the text survives, they are used in line 2 (βοηθοῦ· Ἡρωνεῖ), line 11 (ἡ|μετέρας· σωτ[ηρείας]), line 20 (ἔξ· ἡδέ), and line 45 (Πολείονος· στρατειότη). The frequent use of interpuncts between words in Latin writing tapered off in the first and second centuries CE. For instance, in *P.Wisc.* 2.70 (letter of a senior officer to a *decurion*, early second century CE), they are still used to divide the text into words. In other Latin texts such as *C.Epist.Lat.* 73, 74, 75, 76, 77 (first/second century) and the Vindolanda writing tablets, they are used occasionally to divide the text into clauses and various sense units. Polion’s letter is not the only example of this Latin influence on written Greek. Interpuncts are also used occasionally in *SB* 6.9017.44 = *O.Fawakhir* 44 (private letter, first/second century), *P.Oxy.* 58.3917 (private letter of a *stator* to a *strategos*, early second century CE), and *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.4 (private letter, second century CE).⁵ Latin writing seems to have influenced the formation of some of Polion’s characters as well, notably *gamma*, with its somewhat wispy crossbar extending up at an oblique angle. Given the angularity and extension of this and other characters, the Greek hand of the papyrus resembles, for instance, the Latin hand of *P.Mich.* 8.467 (private letter of a soldier, early second century CE), which is more practiced however, along with that of *P.Mich.* 8.470 and 471 (private letters of the same soldier). In particular, *mu* resembles *m* written in four strokes, the two longest of which extend up to the left; though not interchangeable, *gamma* resembles *s*. These Latinate features no doubt reflect the Roman army setting in which Polion wrote the letter.

Polion had left Tebtynis for a military career. Stationed in Pannonia with *legio II Adiutrix*, he writes home to complain that his family does not reply to his letters. Relations were strained, and Polion seems to regret having departed from them. Concerned and in an effort to restore goodwill, he informs his family that he will obtain leave so as to be able to visit, however unlikely this may be (cf. line 21, note). Along with this reference to furlough, Polion’s letter is

⁴ B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, with E.J. Goodspeed, *The Tebtunis Papyri* 2 (London 1907) 325.

⁵ See E.O. Wingo, *Latin Punctuation in the Classical Age* (The Hague 1972) 16; A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas, with J.N. Adams, *The Vindolanda Writing-Tablets: Tabulae Vindolandenses* 2 (London 1994) 56-57; J.N. Adams, “Interpuncts as Evidence for the Enclitic Character of Personal Pronouns in Latin,” *ZPE* 111 (1996) 208-210; G.O. Hutchinson, *Talking Books* (Oxford 2008) 21-24; Luiselli (n. 2) 688, n.67; R. Wallis, “The Latin Alphabet and Orthography,” in J. Clackson (ed.), *A Companion to the Latin Language* (Chichester 2011) 23.

of special interest as one of a few extant private letters sent home by Egyptian recruits stationed in the western part of the Roman Empire, such as *P.Mich.* 8.490 and 491 and *BGU* 2.423 (all second century CE), letters that happened to be preserved only because they reached their destination.⁶

There were two *legiones Adiutrices*, established by Galba and Vespasian (Dio 55.24.1-4). From the start of the second century, if not the end of the first century, both were stationed in Pannonia. Soon thereafter, the province was divided, with *legio II Adiutrix* stationed at Aquincum in Pannonia Inferior.⁷ How Polion, from Tebtynis, would have been recruited to this frontier is not obvious, but there are examples of similar eastern recruits to these legions.⁸ He may have volunteered and left Egypt without knowing where he would be assigned. By way of comparison, *P.Mich.* 8.490 and 491, as well as *BGU* 2.423, provide some details concerning naval recruits from Karanis and Philadelphiea who traveled to Italy for assignment there.⁹

According to the third-party address in lines 44-45 on the back of the papyrus, the carrier of Polion's letter was to deliver it to a veteran for forwarding (εἶνα πέμψη εἰς(ς) πατρειδ[α]). The carrier may have been someone en route to Egypt or perhaps a designated courier within the postal system. For *BGU* 2.423, a private letter sent to Philadelphiea from an Egyptian recruit in Italy, military post was used, there being a military unit specified in the delivery instructions; whereas for *P.Mich.* 8.490 and 491, private letters sent to Karanis from an Egyptian recruit in Italy, it was not used. Polion apparently did not use military post either. Otherwise, as S.R. Llewelyn has argued, a military unit would have been specified rather than the name of a veteran.¹⁰ Whether or not the veteran had ever met Polion, it would seem that he was acquainted with Polion's family so as to know where to forward the letter. Depending on the specificity of πατρειδ[α], the veteran may not have lived in Tebtynis but elsewhere in Egypt or perhaps even somewhere between Egypt and Pannonia. In fact, if the veteran lived in Tebtynis, arguably he would not need to send the letter to Polion's family; they could pick it up from him. It is striking that no place of residence is given for the addressees or the veteran, at least in lines

⁶ In J.L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (Philadelphia 1986) 159-164; S.R. Llewelyn, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 7 (Macquarie 1994) 45-47.

⁷ E. Ritterling, "Legio," *RE* 12:1380-1404, 1437-1456; B. Campbell, "Legion," *New Pauly* 7:358, 363.

⁸ M. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies* 1 (Amsterdam 1984) 131, n.16.

⁹ Note also *P.Mich.* 8.466, a private letter from a soldier in Arabian Bostra to his father in Karanis, 107 CE. Further sources on recruitment in B. Campbell, *The Roman Army, 31 BC-AD 337* (London 1994) 9-15.

¹⁰ Llewelyn (n. 6) 47.

44-45 (but see commentary on line 39), as if the veteran's name alone were sufficient for delivery and the carrier knew where to find him.¹¹

Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed suggest a date for the letter sometime in the third century CE, and indeed a date after 212 CE could be assumed from Polion's *nomen*, although Aurelii are attested in the second century.¹² The occasional use of interpuncts could be seen as evidence for an earlier rather than a later date. Other Greek letters with this Latinate feature, cited above, date from the first and second centuries. However, interpuncts are used more frequently in these Greek letters than in the papyrus; this could be an argument for Polion's letter having been written later, in the third century. A final clue comes from the reference to furlough in lines 21-22 (λήψωμαι κομειᾶτον πα[ρὰ] τοῦ ὑπατεικοῦ), in particular the reference to obtaining leave from "the consular (commander)," which suggests a date for the letter sometime after 214 CE. Once Pannonia was divided circa 103-106 CE, there was only one legion in Pannonia Inferior, *legio II Adiutrix*, under the command of a praetorian governor. This remained the case throughout the second century and into the early third century. A joint consular governorship of both Pannonia Superior and Inferior during 136-137/8 CE is the sole exception. But in 214 CE the province was re-divided, with the two *legiones Adiutrices* now in Pannonia Inferior and under the command of a consular governor.¹³ Thus, on the whole, a date in the third century seems preferable. However, a date in the second century cannot be ruled out.

Editing the text, I relied on autopsy as well as color images available from the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri (<http://tebtunis.berkeley.edu>) and infrared images captured while the papyrus was on loan to Brigham Young University for the 2011 American Society of Papyrologists Summer Institute.¹⁴

¹¹ Discussion of third parties in addresses in S. Llewelyn, "The εἰς (τὴν) οἰκίαν Formula and the Delivery of Letters to Third Persons or to Their Property," *ZPE* 101 (1994) 71-78. However it should be noted that the εἰς (τὴν) οἰκίαν formula is quite different from εἰς(ς) πατρειδ[α] on the papyrus.

¹² List of such Aurelii in F.A.J. Hoogendijk and K.A. Worp, "Drei unveröffentlichte griechische Papyri aus der Wiener Sammlung," *Tyche* 16 (2000) 54-55.

¹³ A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia: A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire* (London 1974) 92-94, 102, 111; and A. Mócsy, "Pannonia," *RE Suppl.* 9:591-593, where the names of praetorian and consular governors of Pannonia Inferior from 107 to 252 CE are listed.

¹⁴ I would like to thank: the Bancroft Library for permission to publish; all the members of the Summer Institute for their collegiality, teaching, and many suggestions, especially Brigham Young University faculty Stephen Bay, Lincoln Blumell, John Gee, Roger Macfarlane, Thomas Wayment, and guest professors Rodney Ast, Roger Bagnall, Todd Hickey, Nikos Litinas, Maryline Parca, Joshua Sosin, Peter van Minnen, Arthur

UC inv.1468

H x W = 26.6 x 15 cm

Tebtynis

P.Tebt. 2.583 descr.

Second/third century CE

Front, along the fibers:

- Ἀὐρήλειο[ς] Πωλείον στρατ[ειώτης λε]γειῶ[νος] β
 βοηθοῦ · Ἡρωνεῖ [τ]ῷ ἀδελφ[ῷ κα]ὶ Πλουτου τῇ ἀδελ-
 φῇ καὶ μητρὶ [. .] . Σεινουμεν τῇ ἀρτοπόλει καὶ κύρα
 πλείστα χαίρειν. εὐχομα[ι ὑ]μᾶς ὑγιαίνειν
 5 γυκτὸς καὶ [ή]μ[έρα]ς, κ[α]ὶ τὸ προ[σ]κύνημα ὑμῶν πάντο-
 τε ποιῶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς. ἐγὼ δὲ γράφων οὐκ ἀνα-
 πάφμαι ὑμῖν. εἰμῆς δὲ κατὰ νοῦ με οὐχ ἔχεται.
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ ἕμὸν ποιῶ γράφων εἰμῖν πάντοτε,
 καὶ οὐκ ἀναπάφμαι ὑμᾶς φέρων καὶ [κ]ατὰ ψυχὴν ἔ-
 10 χων εἰμ[ᾶς]. ἀλλ' οὐ[δ]έποτε μοι ἐγράψ[α]τε πε[ρὶ] τῆς ἡ-
 μετέρας · σωτ[ηρείας π]ῶς ἔχετε. ἐγὼ δ[έ] μεριμνῶ πε-
 ρὶ ἡμῶν ὅτι λαβόν<τες> ἅ[π'] ἐμοῦ γράματα πολλάκις
 οὐδέποτε μοι ἀντ[ε]γράψατε εἶνα εἰδῶ[τ]ες πῶς ἡμᾶς
 [. .] . ὡπ . . [. .] . . . ἀπώντας ἐν τῇ Παγγωνείᾳ
 15 ἔπεμψα πρὸς ἡμᾶς. εἰμῆς[ς] δὲ οὕτως με ἔχετε
 ὡς ξένον α . . . [. .] . ἐξηλθόντα, καὶ χαίρετε ὁ-
 εἰ . σ στρατεῖαν. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμῖν
 . [. .] εἰν οὐκ ἐ . . οἱ . [. .] . πεία τρεῖς εἰς [τ]ὴν στρατεῖαν,
 ἀλλὰ μετενο[. .] . . ὡ . . ὡ ἐξήλθα ἀφ' ὑμῶν.
 20 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπειστολ[ᾶς] εἰμῆς ἔγραψα ἕξ · ἡδὲ ὑμεῖς
 με κατὰ νοῦ[. . . .] . . λήψωμαι κομειᾶτον πα-
 [ρὰ] τοῦ ὑπατεικοῦ, καὶ ἐλεύσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶνα εἰδῆ-
 τε ἐμὲ εἶναι ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲν
 {οὐδὲν} ἀφ' ἡμῶν[ν . .] . . τησα εἰς τὴν στρατεῖαν. ἀλ-
 25 λ' [ἀ λ]ογίζομα[ι ὑ]μῆς ὅτι ἐμοῦ εἰμῖν γ[ρ]άφον-
 τος ἡμεῖς οὐδεὶς . [. . . .] . γ λόγον ἔχει. εἰδὲ γείτων
 η . ην ὑμῶν ἐμ[ἐ ἀδ]ελφὸν ἡμεῖ. καὶ ἡμεῖς μοι ἀν-
 [τ]εγράψατε ἡς μοι γράψαι τρεῖς ἡν
 ἡμεῖς τὴν ἐπε[. .] εἰς αὐτοῦ μοι πέννατε.
 30 ἄσπαισαι τὸν π[ca. 8] Ἀφροδείσειν καὶ Ἀτήσιων
 [.] οὔρειον . . [ca. 8] . εἰν τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ
 [.] . ε [ca. 7] . . καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς

Verhoogt, Klaas Worp (in alphabetical order); the Humanities Research Center at Rice University for added funding; and the *BASP* editors and an anonymous reader for their review and further suggestions.

κ[α]ι Ὅρσινο[υφειν κ]αὶ τοὺς ὑγειοὺς τῆς ἀδελφῆς
 τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ξ[εγοφῶνε καὶ Ουηγοφε
 35 [τ]ὸν καὶ προ . [ca. 10] του Αὐρηλείους
 [. . .] . . . [ca. 19] . φειν την φει-
 [ca. 27] . . δ[ca. 5]
 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

Left margin, across the fibers:

38 [- - -]υ[- - -]ε[. . . .] τῇγ [ἐ]πιστολῇ[ν . . .] . δοτ . .

Back, along the fibers:

39 . . . [. .] εἰν τεπ τοῖς ὑγειοῖς [καὶ] Σεινυφει τῇ ἀρτοφωλείσῃ
 συγγωνε[- - -]
 40 . οπ Π[ο]λ[ε]ῖ[ο]νος στρατειότου λεγειῶνος β[ε] βοηθο[ῦ]
 [- - -]
 41 [c. 10] [.] υ . . . [. .] . εἰ . . . [c. 7] . . .
 [. .] [- - -]
 42 . [. .] ψ . [. .] [c. 10] . θ . . [. .] . [- - -]
 43 [. . τ]ῆς Παγνονείας τῆς κατ[ω] [. .] . . [. . . .] . . [c. 7] η . .
 [. . .] . . [c. 5] . [- - -]

vacat

44 [ἀπ]όδος Ἀκουτονε Λεωγ[ο]ῦτρανῶ λειγει[ῶ]ν[ος - - -]
 45 Αὐρηλείο Πολειόνος · στρατειότη λεγεῶνος β[ε] βοηθοῦ εἶνα πέμψη
 εἰ(ς) πατρεῖδ[α - - -]

1 l. Αὐρήλιος Πωλίων στρατιώτης λεγιῶνος 2 l. Ἡρωνι 3 l. μητρί, ἀρτοπώλι-
 δι, κυρία(?) 4 l. ὑγαίνειν 6-7 l. ἀναπαύομαι 7 l. ὑμῖν ὑμεῖς, νοῦν; οὐχ corr.
 from οὐκ; l. ἔχετε 8 l. ὑμῖν 9 l. ἀναπαύομαι 10 l. ὑμᾶς 10-11 l. ὑμετέρας
 σωτηρίας 12 l. ὑμῶν, γράμματα πολλάκις 13 l. ἵνα εἰδότος for εἰδῶ(?),
 ὑμᾶς 14 l. ἀπόντος for ἀπών(?), Παννονία 15 l. ὑμᾶς ὑμεῖς 16 l. ἐξελθόν-
 τα 17 l. στρατίαν, ὑμῖν 18 l. τις(?), στρατίαν 20 l. ἐπιστολὰς ὑμῖν, ιδέ
 21 l. λήψομαι κομμεᾶτον 22 l. ὑπατικοῦ, ἵνα 23 l. ὑμῶν 24 l. ὑμῶν, στρα-
 τίαν 25 l. λογίζομαι ὑμῖν ὅτι, ὑμῖν 26 l. ὑμῶν(?), ιδέ 27 l. ὑμῶν(?), ὑμεῖς
 27-28 l. ἀντιγράψατε 28 l. τις(?) ἐάν(?) 29 l. ὑμῶν(?), πέμψατε 30 l. ἄσπασαι,
 Ἀφροδίσιον, Ἀτήσιον 33 l. υἱοὺς 34 l. Ξενοφῶντα; Ουηγοφε: Ο corr. from
 Α 35 l. Αὐρηλίους 39 l. υἱοῖς, ἀρτοπωλίσσα 40 l. Πωλίωνος στρατιώτου
 λεγιῶνος 43 l. Παννονίας 44 l. οὐετρανῶ λεγιῶνος 45 l. Αὐρηλίου Πω-
 λίωνος στρατιώτου λεγιῶνος, ἵνα, πατρίδα

“Aurelius Polion, soldier of *legio II Adiutrix*, to Heron his brother and Ploutou his sister and his mother Seinouphis the bread seller and lady(?), very many greetings. I pray that you are in good health night and day, and I always make obeisance before all the gods on your behalf. I do not cease writing to you, but you do not have me in mind. But I do my part writing to you always and do not cease bearing you (in mind) and having you in my heart. But you never wrote to me concerning your health, how you are doing. I am worried about you because although you received letters from me often, you never wrote back to me so that I may know how you ... while away in Pannonia I sent (letters) to you, but you treat me so as a stranger ... I departed ... and you are glad that(?) ... the army. I did not ... you a ... for the army, but I ... departed from you. I sent six letters to you. The moment you have(?) me in mind, I shall obtain leave from the consular (commander), and I shall come to you so that you may know that I am your brother. For I demanded(?) nothing from you for the army, but I fault you because although I write to you, none of you(?) ... has consideration. Look, your(?) neighbor ... I am your brother. You also, write back to me ... write to me. Whoever of you ..., send his ... to me. Greet my(?) father(?) Aphrodisios and Atesios my(?) uncle(?) ... his daughter ... and her husband and Orsinouphis and the sons of the sister of his mother, Xenophon and Ouenophis also known as Protas(?) ... the Aurelii ...

(left margin) ... the letter ... (back) ... to the sons and Seinouphis the bread seller ... from(?) Aurelius(?) Polion, soldier of *legio II Adiutrix* ... from(?) Pannonia Inferior(?) ... Deliver to Acutius(?) Leon(?), veteran of *legio* ..., from Aurelius Polion, soldier of *legio II Adiutrix*, so that he may send it home ...”

1-2 λ[ε]γ[ε]ῖν[ος] β | βοηθοῦ: The sender's legion is given here as well as in lines 40 and 45, all damaged. In their description of the letter, Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed identify Polion as a soldier of *legio II Adiutrix* based on line 40, where they state that “the number of the legion is preserved.”¹⁵ There, β is not clear to me. Still, from the traces it is more conceivable than α. Here, β is perhaps clearer, the bottom stroke being visible at the end of line 1.

- βοηθοῦ · Ἡρωνεῖ: the function of the interpunct is to divide the sender from the addressees in the prescript. Compare, vice-versa, the address in *T. Vindol.* 2.260 (late first/early second century CE): *Flauio Ceriali praef(ecto) coh(ortis) · a Iustino col(lega)*.¹⁶

¹⁵ Grenfell, Hunt, Goodspeed (n. 4) 325.

¹⁶ See Adams (n. 5) 209.

2-3 The number of addressees and their relation to the sender are not obvious.¹⁷ These lines should be read together with line 39, where Seinouphis reappears.

- Πλουτου: syntactically, this must be the sister's name in the dative, not a masculine genitive. Perhaps it is an abbreviation. Compare also the woman named Protous in the prescript of *P.Tebt.* 2.416 (third century CE): Πρωτούτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ.

- μητρει [. . .]. Ζεινουφει: after Ἡρωνει [τ]ῷ ἀδελφ[ῷ κα]ὶ Πλουτου τῇ ἀδελφῇ, the expected pattern would be: name, definite article, familial relation. Instead, no article precedes μητρει, and it is followed by a name.

- κύρϱ: if intentional, this spelling of the adjective with vowel loss is rare before the fifth century CE.¹⁸ Earlier parallels in letters from the first and second centuries CE, with μητρὶ followed by κυρίᾱ, are found in *P.Corn.* 49, *SB* 20.14132, *P.Oxy.* 12.1481, *SB* 3.6263, *P.IFAO* 2.11, *P.Mich.* 8.491, *P.Mich.* 15.751, and *P.Mich.* 15.752. Alternatively, Κύρϱ could be a proper name.

4 ὕ]μᾱς: no hasta from υ appears next to μ so as to preclude εἰ]μᾱς, but I default to the standard spelling.

6-7 ἀνα|πάωμαι: interchange of αυ and α.¹⁹

8 ἀλλὰ 'γὼ: inverse elision of ἐ-.²⁰

10-11 πε[ρι] τῆς ἡ|μετέρας · σωτ[η]ρείας π]ῶς ἔχετε: the phrase περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας and its equivalents are common in private letters.²¹ The phrase πῶς + a form of ἔχω and its equivalents are relatively rare, occurring, for instance, in *SB* 1.4630 (113-120 CE) and *P.Oxy.* 12.1488 (second century CE). They occur together in *P.Brem.* 61 (early second century CE), where the sender asks πῶς δ' ἔχεις and a few lines later wants to be informed περὶ τῆς σωτη[ρίας σου]; in *P.Oxy.* 9.1216 (second/third century CE), where the sender wants to be informed [πε]ρὶ τῆς σωτηρίας \σου,/ καὶ πῶς σοί ἐστιν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πενθερ[όν]; and in *P.Gron.* 18 (third/fourth century CE), where the sender wants to be informed περὶ σοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ωρίωνος πῶς ἔχων, λεία\ν/ γὰρ φιλῶ

¹⁷ On the larger problem of relation, see E. Dickey, "Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri," *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004) 131-176.

¹⁸ F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* 1 (Milan 1976) 302.

¹⁹ Gignac (n. 18) 227.

²⁰ Gignac (n. 18) 319.

²¹ Discussion and examples in H. Koskeniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (Helsinki 1956) 71-73, 128-130.

αὐτόν. In the lacuna between ἡ||μετέρας and ἔχετε on the papyrus, there is space for approximately seven letters, thus σωτ[ηρείας π]ῶς.

- ἡ||μετέρας · σωτ[ηρείας]: the function of the interpunct is unclear. But compare *T. Vindol.* 2.211 (late first, early second century CE): *de hac · re*, where the preposition and a modifier are divided from the object, because the preposition is proclitic.²²

11 μεριμνῶ: among other letters from the second and third centuries CE, the verb occurs in *P. Mich.* 8.473, *P. Mich.* 8.498, *O. Claud.* 1.147, *P. Tebt.* 2.315, and *SB* 6.9194. Compare also occurrences of ἀμεριμνῶ and equivalent phrases expressing the relief of worry in private letters, increasingly common in the second and third centuries CE.²³

13 εἶνα εἰδῶ[τ]ες πῶς ἡμᾶς: while εἰδῶ[τ]ες appears to be a plural participle, Polion must be the subject of the clause. After εἶνα, the optative or far more likely the subjunctive would be expected to follow.²⁴ If εἰδῶ[τ]ες is not meant as the verb of the ἶνα clause, perhaps it is meant as a genitive participle. After εἰδῶ[τ]ες πῶς ἡμᾶς, an infinitive would be expected to follow in line 14 with ἡμᾶς, i.e., ὑμᾶς, as subject accusative, but it cannot be read. Compare lines 22-23.

14 ἀπώντας: again, Polion must be the subject of the clause despite the apparent plural form. If εἰδῶ[τ]ες is meant to be the verb of the ἶνα clause in line 13, a nominative would be expected here. Perhaps ἀπώντας is meant to be genitive in agreement with εἰδῶ[τ]ες, if that is meant as a genitive. Whatever the syntax, compare the use of ἀπειμι in military context in *BGU* 7.1655 (testament, 169 CE): τέκνα μου στρατευόμ(ενα), ἐπειδὴ διὰ τῇ[ν] στρατείαν ἀπεισιν.

- ἐν τῇ Παγγωνείᾳ: τ and π are least certain, τ because the papyrus looks as though it is crumpled besides lacunose, and π because it looks as though its right leg has been combined with α, something that does not otherwise occur in the paleography of the letter, at least as it is preserved. In line 43 on the back of the papyrus where [τ]ῆς Παγγωνείας can be read, π is just as difficult to see. Nevertheless, in favor of the reading are its simplicity and its plausibility in the immediate context of the line as well as in the broader context of the letter, namely the attested disposition of *legio II Adiutrix* in Pannonia.

²² See Adams (n. 5) 208.

²³ Occurrences and discussion in N. Litinas, "P. Mich. Inv. 1622 (= SB XVI 12589) + Inv. 1580," *ZPE* 163 (2007) 194.

²⁴ B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens 1973) §§ 531.1, 604-605, 657-658.

15-16 με ἔχετε | ὡς ξένον α . . . [.] . ἐξηλθότα: perhaps restore ἄνδ[ρ]α, which would better fit if spelled ἄναδ[ρ]α with vowel development as in *O. Tebt.* 1 (tax receipt, first/second century CE).²⁵ However, the word is spelled without vowel development in line 32. There is a general parallel to this construction in *P. Ryl.* 4.691 (private letter, third century CE), although the opposite scenario: ἵνα μὴ ὡς ξένον [ἀλ]λ' ὡς υἱὸν ἡμῶν αὐτὸν ἔχωσιν. Rendered causally, ἐξηλθότα would suggest that Polion's family did not want him to join the military. But it is also possible that their treatment of him as a stranger began before he departed. At any rate, in *SB* 4.7354 (private letter, second century CE) a father threatens to disown his son if he does not enlist: εὖ οὖν ποιήσεις εἰς καλήν στρατείαν στρατεῦσαι.

16-17 χαίρετε ο | . . . ε ι . σ στρατείαν: restore ὃ | [τι] or perhaps ὃ | [ταν] after χαίρετε and perhaps τῇν before στρατείαν. It is not clear what Polion's family was glad about. It may have been some unpleasant circumstance subsequent to his enlistment, as if to spite him for departing against their wishes (with ἐξηλθότα rendered causally). Or it may have been the simple fact of his departure.

18 . [. .] ειν: perhaps restore {ὕ[μ]εϊν}, with dittography at line break, as in lines 23-24. Because the left portion of what appears to be a crossbar is visible, it could also be read τ[. .] ειν. However, the downward stroke extends quite far, and what the sense of that reading would be is not clear. Compare traces with υ at the beginning of ὑπατεικοῦ in line 22.

- οὐκ ἐ . . ο ι . [.] . πεια τεις: after ἐγώ in line 17, a verb is expected to follow here beginning with ἐ as **past indicative augment**. **Word division is difficult**. It is also possible to read τεις as τοις.

19 μετενο[. .] . . φ . . : presumably restore μετενό[ησ]α and perhaps τῶν, but α cannot easily be read after the lacuna, and τῶν would appear to leave some ink unaccounted for after ν. The verb occurs elsewhere in *BGU* 3.747 (letter of *strategos* to prefect, 139 CE) and *P. Tebt.* 2.424 (private letter, late third century CE).

20 ἔξ · ἥδέ: the function of the interpunct is to divide main clauses.²⁶

20-21 ἥδὲ ὑμεῖς | με κατὰ νοῦ[. . .] . . . λήψωμαι: coming up to the very edge of the papyrus, the final characters of ὑμεῖς are cramped; the strokes of εἰ also resemble θ, and ζ is **hardly rounded**. **If indeed the pronoun is nominative**, a verb would be expected, comparable to line 7 (εἵμεῖς δὲ κατὰ νοῦ με οὐχ

²⁵ Gignac (n. 18) 311.

²⁶ See Adams (n. 5) 209.

ἔχεται). However, space does not seem to allow for ὑμεῖς | με κατὰ νοῦ[ν οὐκ ἔχ]ετε much less a conjunction before λήψωμαι. Perhaps οὐκ has been omitted by mistake. As for the apparent lack of conjunction, it would not be a problem if λήψωμαι is actually the main verb after ἡδέ, and ὑμεῖς is meant to be genitive followed by a circumstantial participle.

21 κομειᾶτον: from Latin *commeatus*.²⁷ It could take time and money for soldiers to obtain leave from the provincial governor or a lower-ranking commander. They first had to make a request, as in *T.Vindol.* 2.176 (late first, early second century CE): *rogo domine dignum me habeas cui des ζ[ο]μ[m]eatum*; compare also from the same time period *T.Vindol.* 2.166-177, and from the second century *ChLA* 11.467, *O.Claud.* 4.862, *P.Giss.* 1.41, *P.Mich.* 12.629. Furlough may then have been given by the commander, as in *P.Wisc.* 2.70 (early second century CE) and *O.Florida* 1 (mid-second century CE); or not, as in *O.Claud.* 1.137 (private letter, early second century CE): οὐδείς μοι κομειᾶτον ἔδωκεν. In *P.Mich.* 8.466 (private letter, 107 CE), a soldier tells his father that he will visit if the commander begins giving furloughs, which implies that a request made at present would have been to no avail: ἐργασίαν δὲ δώσω εὐθέως ἐὰν ἄρξηται ὁ ἡγεμὼν διδόναι κομμεᾶτον εὐθέως ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. In *SB* 16.12570 (private letter, second/third century CE), a soldier tells his brother that he requested furlough, but his commander did not give it to him: οὐ δέδω[κ]έν μοι. Polion does not tell his family that he has been given furlough, or even that he has requested it yet, suggesting that for now his visit is little more than a rhetorical hope. In fact if he were about to visit them, there would be no reason for the imperatives ἀν[τ]εγράφατε and πένυσατε in lines 27-29. Apparently, εἰ λαμβάνω κομειᾶτον was a question that soldiers asked fortune tellers often enough to be included in divinatory handbooks like the *Sortes Astrampsychi* (*P.Oxy.* 12.1477 = *PGM* 26).²⁸

24 [.] . . . τησα: perhaps restore [ἀπ]εῖτησα, i.e., ἀπήτησα.

26 γείτων: if he had contact with a neighbor from Tebtynis, Polion may indeed have known that his previous letters were received and not simply lost.

²⁷ See S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* (Barcelona 1971) 60 s.v.; Gignac (n. 18) 251; P.I. Price, "Some Roman Ostraca from Egypt," *JJP* 9/10 (1955/1956) 162-164; M. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies* 2 (Stuttgart 1992) 330-341; Bowman et al. (n. 5) 77-78; A.K. Bowman, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier* (London 1994) 39, 78, 88, 107.

²⁸ G.M. Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi* (Meisenheim 1974) 25-26; Speidel (n. 27) 334, n.18; and most recently F. Naether, *Die Sortes Astrampsychi: Problemlösungsstrategien durch Orakel im römischen Ägypten* (Tübingen 2010) 254.

27-28 ἀν[τ]εγράφατε ης; perhaps restore περί + genitive. Compare line 10.

29 τὴν ἐπε[. .] εἰς αὐτοῦ μοι πένψατε: perhaps restore τὴν ἐπε[ισ]τολήν, which would be expected but is difficult to see and makes little sense of εἰς. Little sense can be made of εἰς regardless. It looks as though the preposition has been inserted or its object omitted by mistake.

30 ἄσπαισαι: interchange of αι and α in medial position.²⁹

- τὸν π[ca. 8]: perhaps restore τὸν π[ατέρα μου]. If so it would be interesting that Polion does not address him in the prescript. Other possible restorations are τὸν κ[ύριον μου] and τὸν τ[ιμώτατον], although π seems to fit the trace before the lacuna better than κ or τ.

- Ἀφροδείσειν: declension -ις, -ίου, -ίω, -ιν.³⁰

31 [.]ουτειον: perhaps restore [μ]ον and read θεῖον.

33 ὑγειούς: inserted γ as vowel glide.³¹

34 Ξεγοφῶνε: ν is dotted because the middle stroke cannot be seen even in the infrared image. But ξ fits the slight trace visible at the top edge of the lacuna, and the name is attested at Tebtynis from the second century CE.

- the corrected letter could also be λ or the first half of μ.

35 [τ]ὸν καὶ προ . [ca. 10] του Αὐρηλείους: after his Egyptian name at the end of line 34, another name for Ouenophis could be expected to follow [τ]ὸν καὶ, such as the name Protas, which is attested at Tebtynis from the second century CE. Perhaps restore [τ]ὸν καὶ Προτ[ᾶν καὶ ὑγει]οῦς αὐτοῦ Αὐρηλείους. If Αὐρηλείους is masculine plural accusative, presumably it would be followed by two or more individual names, as in *P.Corn.* 18.10, *P.Oxy.* 1.80.18, *P.Oxy.* 17.2136.10, *P.Oxy.* 34.2711.5, *P.Oxy.* 49.3476.20, *P.Oxy.* 66.4530.13, all from the third century CE though none of them letters. It also has to be considered that word division may be Αὐρηλείου σ-. Elsewhere on the papyrus, in lines 9 (ἐ-), 10 (ῆ-), and 16 (ὀ-), the first character of a word ends the line despite there being space for more.

38 [- - -]ε[. . .] τὴν [ἐ]πιστολή[ν . . .] . δοτ . . : a preceding verb is expected, but space does not seem to allow for ἔ[λαβον] τὴν [ἐ]πιστολή[ν, in

²⁹ Gignac (n. 18) 195.

³⁰ Gignac (n. 18) 25-26.

³¹ Gignac (n. 18) 72.

particular. At the end of the line, -δοτ . . could be read -δοτον. Perhaps it is a name, such as Ἑρμ]οδότου or Ζην]οδότου.

39-43 Some information from the address in lines 44-45 is also found here, and it seems that these difficult lines also contain an address, perhaps with instructions for delivery of Polion's letter or any others that may be sent to him in return.³²

39 . . . [. .]ειν: perhaps an infinitive as imperative, or ἐν to be followed by a place name.

- τεπ : reference to Τερ/btynis is appealing, and Τεπτ- could be read, but afterwards it is difficult to make sense of the traces on that reading. If the town is referenced here, perhaps it is abbreviated.

- τοῖς ὑγειοῖς [καὶ] Σεινυφει: in the prescript, there are at least three addressees, Polion's brother, sister, and mother, named in that order. Seinouphis, the mother and bread seller, is the only one also named here. It could be supposed that τοῖς ὑγειοῖς refers to the brother and sister, but the general use of υἱός as child is rare; see *PSI* 9.1039.37-38 (third century CE). If that is not satisfying, it becomes a question of whose sons these are and why they are not mentioned in the prescript.

- τῇ ἀρτοφωλείσᾳ: in the prescript, Seinouphis' occupation is indicated by the noun ἀρτοπόλι, presumably for ἀρτοπώλιδι.³³

40 Πολεξίονος: παρά or ἀπό + Αὐρηλίου could be expected to precede, but neither a preposition nor the name can be read.

43 τ]ῆς Παννονείας τῆς κάτω: *legio II Adiutrix* was ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ κάτω according to Dio (55.24.3). To be more specific, the legion was stationed at Aquincum. *CIL* 8.25740 reads: *veteranus leg. II adiutricis piae fidelis quae habitat in Panonia inferiore Acinco*.³⁴

- η . . [. .]: η . . could be read ηλθ-. If so, perhaps restore ἦλθ[ον . .]. Albeit highly speculative, it is not impossible that Polion explains here on the back of the letter that he is currently on expedition from Pannonia. Soldiers belonging to the *legiones Adiutrices* are known to have been on expedition outside the province. For instance, a group of third-century tombstones placed by fellow soldiers has been found in Byzantium, one for an eagle-bearer be-

³² See Llewelyn (n. 6) 29-41.

³³ For the interchange of -πωλις and -πωλίσσα see H.-J. Drexhage, "Feminine Berufsbezeichnungen im hellenistischen Ägypten," *MBAH* 11.1 (1992) 70-79.

³⁴ See Ritterling (n. 7) 1446.

longing to *legio II Adiutrix* and another for a trumpeter belonging to *legio I Adiutrix*, the latter named Aurelius Surus, presumably of Syrian birth. In his discussion of the tombstones, M. Speidel hypothesizes that *legio II Adiutrix* especially was mobile.³⁵

44 [ἀπ]όδος: the vocative subject of this imperative would be the unmentioned carrier of the letter who was to deliver it to the veteran, so that the veteran could then send (εἶνα πέμψη) it to the addressees proper.³⁶

- Ἀκουτονε: though it appears to be vocative, the case must be dative, given [ο]ὔτρανῶ. Compare the name Akoutas occurring in the body of *P.Tebt.* 2.416 (private letter, third century CE): Ἀκουτᾶτι τῶ ἀδελφῶ; also in the address of *P.Tebt.* 2.422 (private letter, third century CE): ἀπόδ(ος) Ἀκουτᾶτι. Closer are the names Akoutianos and Akoution. For instance, there is a soldier named Acutianus in *Chr.Mitt.* 372.6 (second century CE): Ἀκουτιανῶ. Perhaps the veteran that was to forward Polion's letter had as a Latin name either Acutius or Acutianus.

- Λεωγ: presumably an abbreviation of Λεων(ίδη), a rather common name among soldiers at Oxyrhynchus in the third century, Λέων(τι), or Λεων(τίω).

- [ο]ὔτρανῶ: omission of ε.³⁷

44-45 λειγει[ῶ]γ[ος - -] | Ἀὐρηλείο: presumably restore παρά] or ἀπό] at the end of the line before Ἀὐρηλείο. Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed restore π(αρά)].³⁸ Because the margin of the papyrus is gone, it cannot be certain that there was no text between λειγει[ῶ]γ[ος and the expected preposition. However, line 44 is written about twice as large as the other lines on the back. Thus despite the way it appears in transcription, there is probably not room for the name of the veteran's legion before the expected preposition at the end of the line. If the name was not given, perhaps it was because his legion was the same as Polion's.

45 Πολείονος · στρατεϊότη: the function of the interpunct is to divide the name from the profession. Compare *T.Vindol.* 2.315 (late first, early second century CE): *ad Vocusium Africanum · praefectum*; and *T.Vindol.* 2.345 (late first, early second century CE): *[pe]r A[t]tonem · decurionem*.³⁹

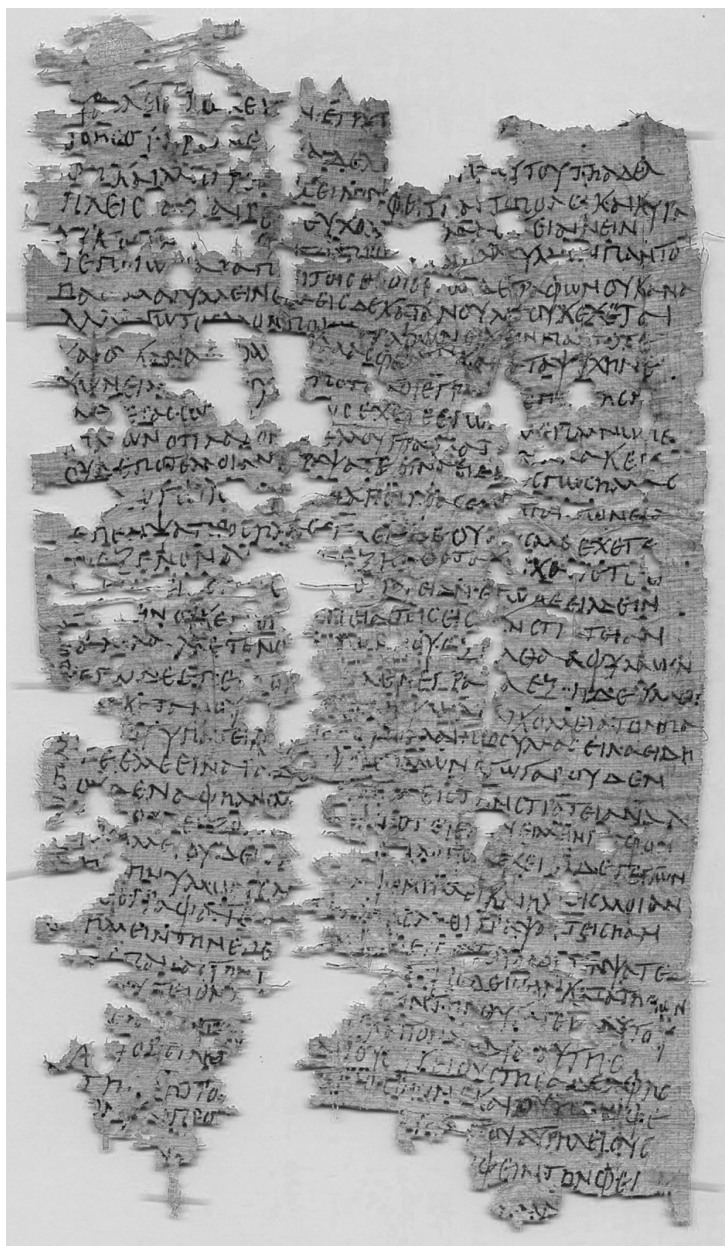
³⁵ Speidel (n. 8) 132.

³⁶ See Llewelyn (n. 6) 35.

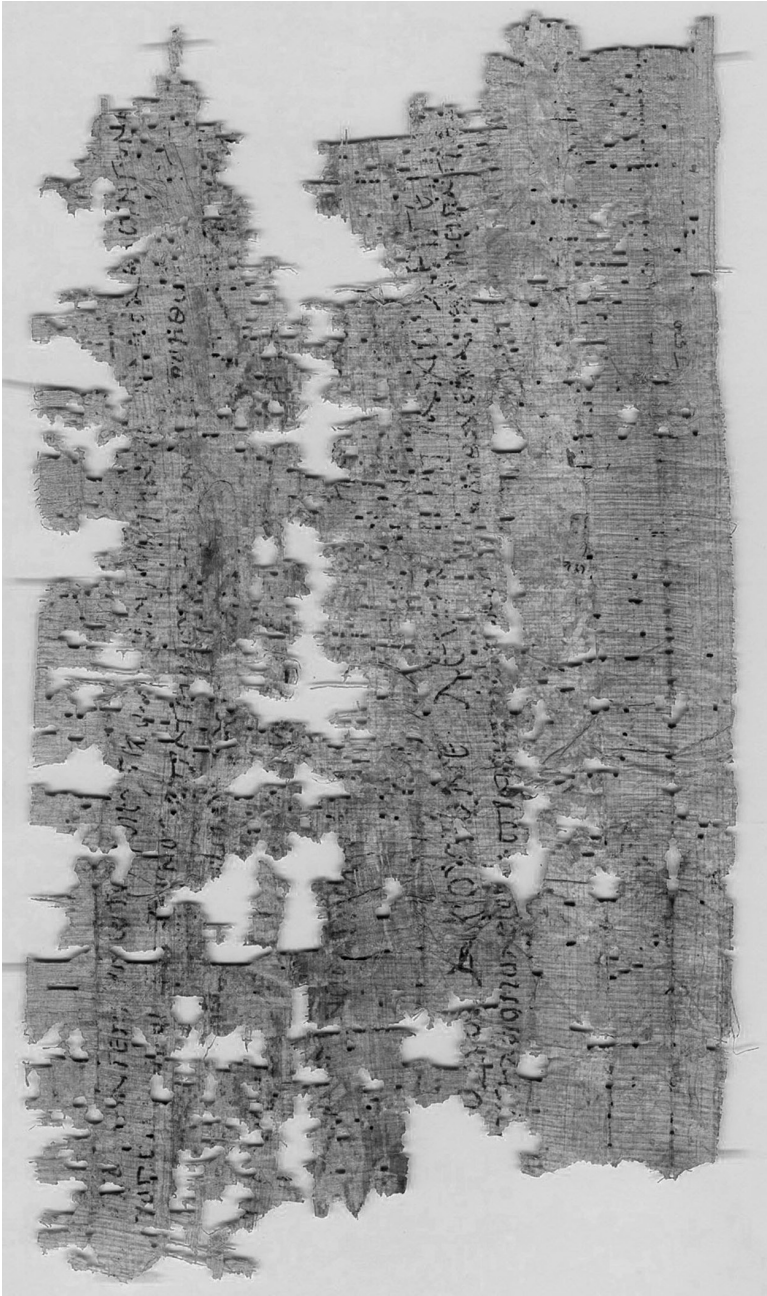
³⁷ Gignac (n. 18) 305-306.

³⁸ Grenfell, Hunt, Goodspeed (n. 4) 325.

³⁹ See Adams (n. 5) 209, with other instances from Wadi Fawakhir.



Recto (Image courtesy of Ancient Textual
Imaging, Brigham Young University)



Verso, (Image courtesy of Ancient Textual Imaging, Brigham Young University)

An *Epikrisis* Document from Oxyrhynchus (P.Mich. inv. 261)¹

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Abstract

An edition with translation and commentary of a papyrus from the Michigan collection, P.Mich. inv. 261, containing an application for the admission of a youth to the gymnasial class at Oxyrhynchus.

This papyrus (P.Mich. inv. 261) was acquired in 1920 by Grenfell and Kelsey and contains 19 lines of an application for admission to the gymnasial class at Oxyrhynchus (identified by a reference to the ἄμφοδον Δεκάτης in line 10).² The verso is blank. The papyrus itself is small (roughly 10 x 9 cm) and heavily damaged. It is broken off on all four sides, but the right edge of the text is preserved after line 7. The scribe shows a regular tendency to break off at word- or syllable-ends, and seems to have left spaces at the end of some lines (10, 15, 17) and filled spaces with flourishes at the end of others (11, 19). The lines with the most surviving text (7-15) are missing approximately 30 letters from their beginnings. At the top and bottom of the papyrus, several lines have been damaged more severely and are consequently missing far more text. In several other places the text is either rubbed away or entirely destroyed. Despite the damage, the hand, while small and cursive, is quite clear. It is rounded and displays a low degree of ligature. The letters themselves are of consistent size and spacing.

The text is dated to the reign of Gordian III (238-244 CE; see note on line 16 below) and it pertains to the maintenance of a privileged class of citizens at Oxyrhynchus known as οἱ ἀπὸ (or ἐκ τοῦ) γυμνασίου, commonly called

¹ I would like to thank Peter van Minnen, Nikos Litinas, and the anonymous readers for *BASP* for their many helpful suggestions and corrections. Any remaining errors are my own.

² H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus* (Giessen 1924) 43; A. Calderini and S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto Greco-Romano* (Milan 1935-2007) s.v. Δεκάτης; J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit* (Frankfurt 1990) 87-88.

the “gymnasial class” in English.³ The exact range of privileges enjoyed by members of this class is unclear, but the social prestige alone of association with the gymnasium, the Greek cultural institution *par excellence* in Oxyrhynchus, may have been enough to make membership desirable.⁴ The class was formally constituted in 4/5 CE, and over the course of the first century various adjustments were made to the procedure for vetting new members, the most important of which was the creation of a master list in 72/3 under Vespasian.⁵

³ G. Ruffini, “Genealogy and the Gymnasium,” *BASP* 43 (2006) 71-99, and U. Yiftach-Firanko, “A Gymnasial Registration Report from Oxyrhynchus,” *BASP* 47 (2010) 45-65, especially 51-59, give extremely thorough introductions to the gymnasial class and the history of scholarship on it. On the development, nature, and purpose of this class and its relationship to other privileged groups in Roman Egypt, see also O. Montevecchi, “L’epikrisis dei Greco-egizi,” in *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists* (Oxford 1975) 227-232, and “PSI V 457: Un caso di endogamia o una semplificazione del formulario?” *Aegyptus* 73 (1993) 49-55; P.J. Sijpesteijn, “Some Remarks on the *Epikrisis* of οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου in Oxyrhynchus,” *BASP* 13 (1976) 181-190; C. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt* (Amsterdam 1979), especially 3-9 and 26-35; J. Whitehorne, “The Ephebate and the Gymnasial Class in Roman Egypt,” *BASP* 19 (1982) 171-184; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, “Entre la cité et le fisc: le statut grec dans l’Égypte romaine,” in *Symposion 1982* (Cologne and Vienna 1989) 241-280, especially 274-280; P. van Minnen “Αἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου: ‘Greek’ Women and the Greek ‘Elite’ in the Metropoleis of Roman Egypt,” in H. Melaerts and L. Mooren (eds.), *Le rôle et le statut de la femme en Égypte hellénistique, romaine, et byzantine* (Leuven 2002) 337-353; T. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung*, 2 vols. (Munich and Leipzig 2002), especially 1:252-271.

⁴ Ruffini (n. 3) 74-75. Various tangible benefits have been proposed, but none can be shown to be exclusive to the gymnasial class or to arise automatically from membership. For example, N. Lewis “The Recipients of the Oxyrhynchus *Siteresion*,” *CdÉ* 49 (1974) 158-162, shows that gymnasials were eligible for the corn dole in the third century, but they were hardly alone in that respect. Gymnasials are known to have paid a reduced poll tax, but metropolitans paid the same rate; cf. Nelson (n. 3) 35, Ruffini (n. 3) 74, note 13. Nelson (n. 3) 9 with note 36 also shows that gymnasials regularly served as magistrates, but it is not surprising that any prominent citizen would belong to the gymnasium. A complicating factor is that there is some disagreement over how exclusive membership in the class was. It was formerly the consensus that the gymnasial class was a tiny elite within the elite of Oxyrhynchite citizens, but van Minnen (n. 3) has challenged that notion and Ruffini (n. 3) 78-95 has argued that the class may have had as many as 4,000 members at any given time. For further suggestions, see Yiftach-Firanko (n. 3) 54, note 18. On the social role of the gymnasium, see R.S. Bagnall, “Family and Society in Roman Oxyrhynchus,” in A. Bowman et al. (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (London 2007) 182-193 at 187-188.

⁵ Nelson (n. 3) 33 with note 23 suggests that the formalization of the class merely continued an established practice with origins in Ptolemaic times; cf. A. Bowman and

All new members after this date had to prove their eligibility for the gymnasial class by showing that they had ancestors in this list on both sides of the family.⁶ Documents recording the procedure survive from as late as the end of the third century.⁷

Throughout the period, the documents show a high degree of uniformity in structure and vocabulary. Except in extraordinary circumstances, it is the father of the child who submits the application.⁸ It begins with an address to the small board of officials who will review the application, followed by the identity of the child's father and mother. The applicant then states that he is submitting the application in accordance with the actions taken under Vespasian by local authorities, who are named.⁹ The next element is the most notable feature of these documents: a catalog of ancestors and the dates of their scrutiny for admission to the gymnasium stretching back to the general *epikrisis* under Vespasian, and often making reference to the original list drawn up in the time of Augustus or a subsequent revision in the time of Nero.¹⁰ For each generation,

D. Rathbone, "Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt," *JRS* 82 (1992) 107-127 at 121. For procedural adjustments, see Méléze-Modrzejewski (n. 3) 277-278, Kruse (n. 3) 1.257-258, Yiftach-Firanko (n. 3) 57-58.

⁶ Van Minnen (n. 3) 345-347; Ruffini (n. 3) 74-76; Yiftach-Firanko (n. 3) 54-55. The requirements for reporting genealogies on the mother's side of the family seem to have been less consistent than those for the father's side; cf. Ruffini (n. 3) 77, note 23. Montevecchi, "PSI 5.457" (n. 3) 52-53 suggests that later texts may have abbreviated or excluded maternal genealogies to mitigate the length of the required documentation, which of course grew ever longer over time.

⁷ The earliest extant gymnasial *epikrisis* document from Oxyrhynchus is *P.Oxy.* 2.257, which is dated to 94/5 CE; the latest is *P.Turner* 38 from either 274/5 CE or 280/1; cf. Yiftach-Firanko (n. 3) 51-52, who also gives a complete list of all gymnasial and metropolite *epikriseis* that have survived. On the contested date of *P. Turner* 38, see L. Tacoma, *Fragile Hierarchies: The Urban Elites of Third-century Roman Egypt* (Leiden 2006) 320. If the earlier date of *P.Turner* 38 is accepted, another papyrus with a contested date may actually be later. *PSI* 5.457 is generally thought to date to 269 CE, but 276 CE has also been proposed; see Ruffini (n. 3) 87, note 59. In either case, the last quarter of the third century seems to mark the end of gymnasial *epikriseis*.

⁸ Yiftach-Firanko (n. 3) 54, note 19.

⁹ These are the *strategos* Sutorius Sosibius and the royal scribe, who is Nicander in most documents, but a Pamphilus appears as the royal scribe in *P.Oxy.* 10.1266; cf. Kruse (n. 3) 2.1016; J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Florence 2006) 92 and 160; Yiftach-Firanko (n. 3) 57, note 25. In addition, some texts mention the involvement of "such others as was fitting"; see note on line 4 below.

¹⁰ Bowman and Rathbone (n. 5) 121; Ruffini (n. 3) 74-76; Yiftach-Firanko (n. 3) 57-58.

the district in which the scrutiny took place is also given.¹¹ These genealogical catalogs can be very long in later periods, and frequently separate catalogs are provided for each side of the family to strengthen the child's case.¹² After the catalog, the applicant swears an oath assuring that the child is not adopted and, in later periods, provides the names of witnesses as assurance of the validity of the application.¹³ A statement of the date and the *hypographai* of the applicant and his witnesses typically close the document.

The present document contains the application of a youth, Hermias (line 13), submitted by his father, whose name does not survive. The top of the papyrus is torn and the address is missing, but the phrase ἔφ' ὧν καθήκει in line 4 appears to be a variant of the common phrasing identifying the local authorities who carried out Vespasian's general *epikrisis*, which we expect to find close to the beginning of the document.¹⁴ The entire genealogical catalog survives, comprising six generations (including Hermias) on the father's side of the family, represented in Chart 1 below. The father's genealogy is followed by a reference to witnesses and his oath, sworn on the fortune of Gordian III. After that, the emperor's name appears again in what seems to be a part of the formula giving the date on which the document was drawn up, and finally there are some fragmentary names that may be identifying the witnesses.¹⁵ This sequence means that there is no space in the text to include Hermias' mother's genealogy, which would normally appear immediately following the father's.¹⁶

¹¹ Bowman and Rathbone (n. 5) 121-122 suggest that the district was recorded "for fiscal purposes."

¹² Separate evidence for the mother's side is adduced in *P.Oxy.* 2.257, *P.Oxy.* 10.1266, *P.Oxy.* 46.3283, *P.Oxy.* 22.2345, *P.Oxy.* 18.2186, *P.Mich.* 14.676. In many other cases, the text is damaged in such a way that it is impossible to know whether such evidence was adduced. See for example *P.Oxy.* 46.3278, which breaks off in the middle of the father's genealogy.

¹³ Witnesses appear only in four applications from the third century (*PSI* 5.457, *P.Mich.* 14.676, *P.Oxy.* 18.2186, and 22.2345) and in the present document; cf. Sijpesteijn (n. 3) 187-189, Yiftach-Firanko (n. 3) 53, note 13.

¹⁴ See note on line 14 below.

¹⁵ See note on line 17 below.

¹⁶ See *P.Oxy.* 2.257.24-38, *P.Oxy.* 10.1266.20-29, *P.Oxy.* 46.3283.19, *P.Oxy.* 22.2345.5-7, *P.Oxy.* 18.2186.7-10, *P.Mich.* 14.676.11-19. Montevicchi, "PSI 5.457" (n. 3) 52-55 argues that the phrase ἐπὶ ταῖς προκειμέναις ἀποδείξεσιν can be used as an abbreviation for an entire genealogy. In such a case, an applicant might give a full genealogy proving his own gymnasial status and then simply declare that his wife's claim to gymnasial status rests upon the same kind of evidence. Even if that is the case, there does not seem to be enough space here for an assertion of the mother's status, and it seems most likely that ἐπὶ ταῖς προκειμέναις ἀποδείξεσιν means that the father's claim to gymnasial

The last letter on the papyrus looks like a *sigma* made with extreme flourish, which seems to signify the end of the document.

There are two elements of this text that set it apart from other gymnasial *epikriseis*. The first is a reference to “identical copies” (ἴσοις ἀντιγράφους) in line 2. It is extremely common in financial transactions, such as the purchase of a house, to submit copies to an official archive, whence they could presumably be retrieved if necessity arose, but such language has no parallel in gymnasial *epikriseis* from Oxyrhynchus.¹⁷ The existence of a central archive housing official copies of the applications themselves can hardly be doubted, however, since there are numerous examples of gymnasial *epikriseis* deriving from official records.¹⁸ It is possible then that the applicant in the present document is merely making explicit that he is submitting official copies of the application while intending to keep another copy in his family archives, which is likely to have been a standard procedure even though it goes unmentioned in other texts of this kind.¹⁹

Another possibility is that the applicant has arrived with copies of older documents retrieved from an official archive in support of the application. Whatever the copied documents may have been, the applicant presumably had a reason to deviate from standard formulae in order to emphasize them, and the practical effect is that he has made reference to more documentary evidence bolstering his application than any other known applicant. Since he has also provided witnesses (line 11), he may have felt that his son’s claim to gymnasial status was in some way dubious, thus requiring extraordinary proof.²⁰

The second unusual element, the name of Hermias’ mother, may provide a partial explanation for the father’s concern and hence the unusual documentation of line 2. The woman’s name and alias (...]τος τῆς καὶ Τερπῶτος) appear as a part of the oath in lines 12-15. Only the alias, Terpos, is clear.²¹ As for the first

status rests upon the same evidence he has just given for all of his ancestors; see note on line 11 below.

¹⁷ See note on line 2 below.

¹⁸ From Oxyrhynchus, the well-known entries from a *synkollesimon*, published as *P.Oxy.* 46.3276-3284 show that a centralized record of such documents was kept.

¹⁹ Montevocchi, “*PSI 5.457*” (n. 3) 54 discusses the differences between official copies and personal copies.

²⁰ The witnesses are not necessarily extraordinary. Although only a small minority of gymnasial *epikrisis* documents mentions them, all derive from the third century (see above, note 13), when procedures are known to have changed in other respects. Montevocchi, “*PSI 5.457*” (n. 3) 51-52 outlines the external factors that affected the gymnasial class in Oxyrhynchus between the second and third centuries.

²¹ I refer to Terpos as the alias here only because it is second in sequence and I do not mean to imply that the missing first name is of greater or lesser importance. It is

name, there are few feminine names ending in -τος in the genitive, for example Σαραποῦς (genitive Σαραποῦτος), which is attested in Oxyrhynchus.²² Terpos is a very uncommon name, and at Oxyrhynchus otherwise unattested.²³ Every extant instance of the name comes from the Arsinoite nome.²⁴ It is possible then that the woman herself was of Arsinoite origin and therefore unlikely to be able to claim gymnasial status for herself in Oxyrhynchus.²⁵ Such a situation would certainly complicate Hermias' claim to gymnasial status, but it would not necessarily prevent his father from submitting an application. Other suspicious cases are known, and in any event we know only that the application was made, not that it was accepted.²⁶ If circumstances were right – if, for example, the woman called Terpos were able to produce documents (ἴσους ἀντιγράφοις) proving her family's gymnasial status in another town – Hermias' father may have been able to press a marginal case.

impossible to tell which name, if either, is more significant, since it is common for individuals with double names to use them interchangeably and even in different orders. On the difficulties presented by double names, see R. Calderini, "Ricerca sul doppio nome personale nell'Egitto greco-romano I," *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 221-260 (especially 249-53), and D. Canducci, "I 6475 cateci greci dell'Arsinoite," *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 211-255 at 254-255.

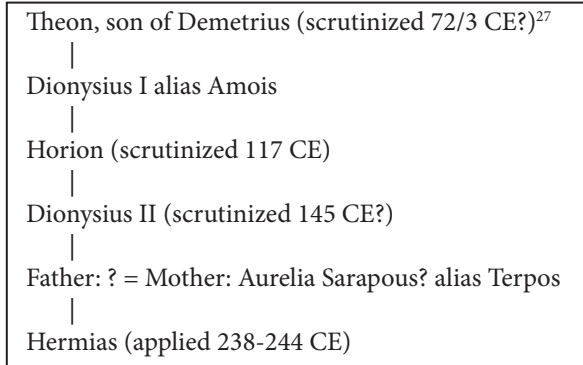
²² J. Whitehorne and B. Jones, *Register of Oxyrhynchites* (Chico, 1982) 211 (entry # 4382).

²³ In addition to the five examples given by F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg 1922) s.v. Τερπῶς (BGU 1.281) and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum* (Milan, 1967) s.v. Τερπῶς (*P.Ryl.* 4.587, *P.Mich.* 4.1.224, 4.1.225, 4.2.358C), I count 11 texts in which the name appears (*P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59.569, *P.Col.* 4.75, *P.Col.* 4.77, *P.Lond.* 7.2149, *PSI* 6.580, *SB* 14.11577, *SB* 14.12063, *SB* 20.15023, *SB* 24.15880, *SB* 24.16157, *SB* 24.16159).

²⁴ Σαραποῦς also occurs in documents from the Arsinoite. See, for example, *SB* 4.7358, *P.Tebt.* 2.481, *BGU* 1.111, *BGU* 1.117.

²⁵ Applicants normally state that both parents are from Oxyrhynchus (ἀπ'Ὁξύρυγχων πόλεως) at the very beginning of the document (e.g. *P.Oxy.* 12.1452.1-5), but the opening of the present application is missing.

²⁶ Van Minnen (n. 3) 346-347 discusses the case of a *palaistrophylax* whose son may have been admitted to the gymnasium as a personal favor even without proper qualifications (*P.Oxy.* 10.1266). Montevicchi, "*PSI* 5.457" (n. 3) has suggested that irregularities in *PSI* 5.457, if they are not simply part of an abbreviated formula, may have been an attempt to hide a brother-sister marriage or, since the mother's name is Κοπρούς, she may have been of servile origin and hence not eligible for gymnasial status. On the latter point, W.V. Harris, "Child Exposure in the Roman Empire," *JRS* 84 (1994) 1-22 at 8 cautions against putting too much emphasis on such names since many individuals of high status are known to have had them.



P.Mich. inv. 261

H x W = 10 x 9 cm Oxyrhynchus, 238-244 CE

- [- - - πέ]πρακται οἱκ[ca. 25]
 [- - - σὺν] ἴσοις ἀντιγράφ[οις ca. 20]
 [- - -]ξεῖ παρατιθέμενος . [ca. 20]
 [- - -]ι ἔφ' ὧν καθήκει τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασ[ίου ca. 20]
 5 [ἐπικεκρίσθαι τὸν τοῦ πατρός μου πρόπαππο]ν Διονύσιον τὸν καὶ
 Ἀμόιν Θεώνος ἐπ' ἀμφό[δου ca. 6]
 [- - - ἀκολούθως αἷς ἐπήνεγκεν ἀπ]οδίξεσιν ὡς ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ
 Θέων Δημητρίο[υ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ]
 [τοῦ x (ἔτους) θεοῦ NN γραφῇ καὶ τὸν πρόπαππον μου Δι]ονύσιον
 προσβάντα γεγονέν[α]ι ἐν ταῖς τοῦ γ[υμνασ]ίου
 [γραφαῖς ἐπ' ἀμφόδου ca. 5 καὶ τὸν πάππ]ον μ[ο]υ Ὡρείωνα
 προσβάντα τῷ α̅ (ἔτει) θεοῦ Ἀ[δ]ριανοῦ
 [ἐπικεκρίσθαι ἐπ' ἀμφόδου ca. 10] καὶ τὸν πατέρα μου Διονύσιον
 προσβάντα τῷ η̅ (ἔτει) θεοῦ
 10 [NN - - - ἐπικεκρίσθαι ἐπ' ἀμφό]δου Δεκάτης καὶ ἐμὲ δέ
 προσβάντα εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) τῷ η̅ (ἔτει) *vacat*
 [θεοῦ NN - - - ἐπὶ ταῖς προ]κειμέναις ἀποδείξεσ[ιν ἀ]μφόδου τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ παρὰ-
 [σχόντα τῆς ἐπικρίσεως γνωστήρας καὶ ὁμ]νύω τὴν Μάρκου Ἀ[ν]-
 τῶ[ν]ιου Γορδιανοῦ Καίσ[α]ρ[ος]
 [τοῦ κυρίου τύχην ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγε]γραμμένα καὶ εἶν[αι] τὸν
 Ἑρμίαν τῇ φύσει ἑμαυτοῦ
 [τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τῆς Αὐρηλίας ca. 10]τος τῆς καὶ Τερπώτος καὶ μήτε

²⁷ For the proposed dates in this chart, see notes on lines 6, 8, 9, and 16 below.

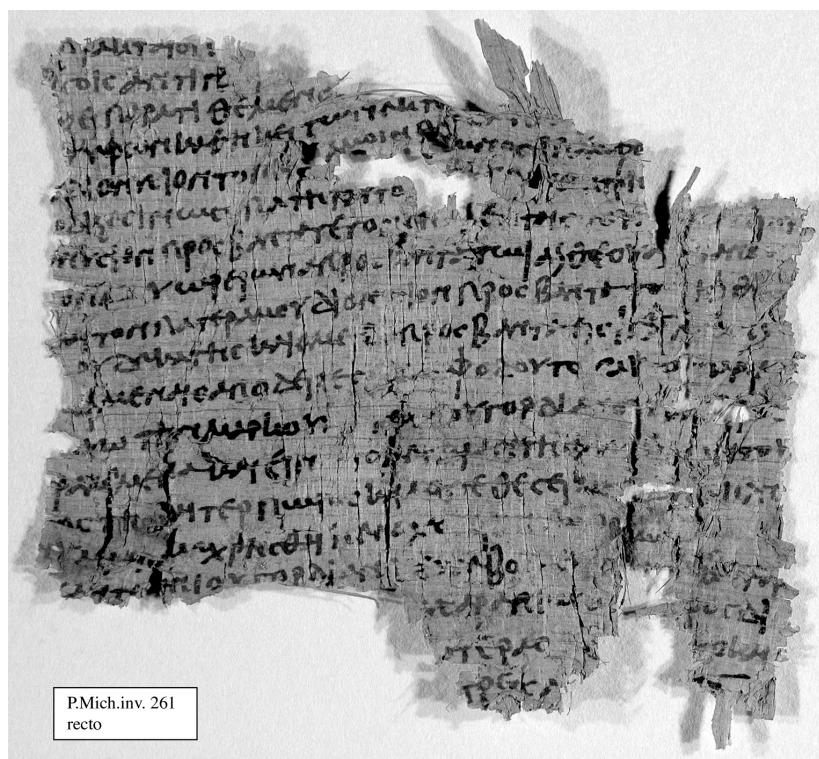
θέσει μή[τε ὑ]πόβλη-
 15 [τον μηδ' ἄλλοτρίαις ἀσφαλείαις ἢ ὁμω]νυμίαις κεχρηῆσθαι, ἢ
 ἔνοχο[ς εἰ]ῖ[ην] τῷ[ι] ὄρκω[ι] *vacat*
 [- - - x (ἔτους) Μάρκο]υ Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Εὐσεβο[ῦ]ς
 Εὐ[τυχοῦς Σε]β[α]στοῦ
 [- - - το]ῦ Σαραπίωνο[ς μη]τρὸς Δι- *vacat*
 [- - - τὸν π]ατέρα τοῦ[ca. 8] .. καὶ
 [- - -]τρεις α[ca. 7]ς
 - - - - -

6. ἀποδείξεσιν 8. Ὁρίωνα

“... has been done ... with identical copies ... having furnished ... upon such as is fitting of those from the gymnasium ... that my father’s great-grandfather, Dionysios, also known as Amois, the son of Theon, was scrutinized in the district of ... in accordance with the proofs which he produced that his father, Theon, the son of Demetrios appears in the list of the xth year of the divine NN, and that my great-grandfather, Dionysios, having entered (the class), appeared in the lists of the gymnasium in the district of ... and that my grandfather Horion, having entered (the class) in the first year of the divine Hadrian, was scrutinized in the district of ..., and that my father, Dionysios, having entered (the class) in the eighth year of the divine NN, was scrutinized in the district of Dekate, and that I myself, having entered the class of thirteen-year-olds in the eighth year of the divine NN, ... upon the aforementioned proofs in the same district, having furnished witnesses of the scrutiny, and I swear by the fortune of the lord, Marcus Antonius Gordianus Caesar, that the above-written things are true and that Hermias is the son by birth of myself and of Aurelia ... also known as Terpos, and not by adoption, nor is he suppositious, and that I have not made use of someone else’s credentials or shared names, or otherwise let me suffer the consequences of the oath ... in the xth year of Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus ... (month) ... (day) ... son of Sarapion, whose mother is Di- ... the father ... and ...”

1 π[ε]πρακται: Perhaps διαπέπρακται, although both words are unparalleled in such a document. They are used frequently in regard to financial transactions, but also with the more basic meaning of “to do.” See, e.g., *P.Col.* 2.1.r.2, *P.Oxy.* 1.120.10, *P.Oxy.* 75.5062.11.

2 σὺν] ἴσοις ἀντιγράφ[οις: For the phrase, see *P.Harr.* 1.75.24, *P.Oxy.* 10.1268.14, *P.Oxy.* 61.4120.26, *PSI* 12.1255.16, *SB* 8.9878.23-24. See discussion above.



4]ι ξφ' ὧν καθήκει: The first letter of this line is slightly rounded towards the left but is much taller than other rounded letters in this document except for *theta*, which does not seem to fit the context. It is potentially an *iota*. Other *iotas* tend to be very straight, but occasionally they tail off to the left at the bottom, as in Γορδιανοῦ in line 16. A bigger problem lies with the phrase ξφ' ὧν καθήκει. The *epsilon* is irregularly formed and the cross-stroke is ligatured to the *phi* that follows. A small diagonal slash appears between *epsilon* and the previous letter that is unlike anything else in the document. There are parallels in this text for the shape of *epsilon* in ἐκ later in this line and Δεκάτης in line 10, but the sense provided is not satisfactory. The ὧν καθήκει is suggestive of a standard phrase that appears in many *epikrisis* documents identifying local authorities who carried out the general *epikrisis* under Vespasian: ὅθεν παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὴν τούτου ἐπικρίσιν δηλῶ κατὰ τὴν γενομένην τῷ εἵτει θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ὑπὸ Σουτωρίου Σωσιβίου στρατηγήσαντος καὶ Νικάνδρου (or Παμφίλου) γενομένου βασιλικῷ γραμματέως καὶ ὧν ἄλλων

καθήκει ἐπὶ κρίσιν ἐπικεκρίσθαι τὸν (ancestor).²⁸ In this case, ὑπό governs all three genitive phrases and is not repeated for the second two. If the scribe chose to repeat the ὑπό, that would give us ὑφ' ὧν καθήκει which would yield the necessary sense if we also hypothesize that ἄλλων has dropped out. This hypothesis works better with the other attested uses of καθήκει in *epikrisis* documents, where it is always a part of the formula referring to the general *epikrisis* under Vespasian. However, the letter cannot be an *upsilon* since there is clearly a second stroke connecting it to *phi*. It seems unavoidable to read ἔφ' ὧν καθήκει, but the phrase has no parallels and it is difficult to see what it would mean in this context without the rest of the line.

- τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου: The break at the top of the papyrus cuts this line in half, and only the bottom halves of these letters have left traces. The saddle and the lower portions of the two uprights of the *mu* are clearly visible, as are the uprights of the *nu*. The *alpha* and the *sigma* are faded but apparent.

5 [ἐπικεκρίσθαι τὸν τοῦ πατρός μου πρόπαππο]ν: Compare the language at *P.Oxy.* 18.2186.4, *PSI* 5.457.4, and *P.Oxy.* 46.3283.12.

- Διονύσιον τὸν καὶ Ἀμόιν Θέωνος: The male names in this family are extremely common in Oxyrhynchus. There are even two other men named Dionysius alias Amois of the gymnasial class, one in a document from 98 CE (*P.Oxy.* 10.1266) and the other in a document from 148/9 (*P.Oxy.* 46.3281), but they cannot be the same man as Dionysius I in this document because neither is the son of a Theon.²⁹ It is consequently impossible as yet to connect this family to other known Oxyrhynchites.

- ἐπ' ἀμφό[δου ca. 6]: The district in question is uncertain. Families often resided in the same district for generations, but that is not always the case and cannot be assumed.³⁰ See *P.Oxy.* 22.2345 for an example of a particularly mobile family of the gymnasial class.

6 ἀκολουθῶς αἰς ἐπήνεγκεν ἀπ]οδίξεσιν: See, for example, *P.Mich.* 14.676.8; *P.Oxy.* 18.2186.4; *P.Oxy.* 22.2345.3; *P.Oxy.* 46.3283.13.

²⁸ The phrase occurs in *P.Oxy.* 46.3276, *P.Oxy.* 46.3279, *P.Oxy.* 46.3283, *P.Oxy.* 12.1452, *P.Oxy.* 10.1266.

²⁹ Whitehorne and Jones (n. 22) 75 (entry #1384) and 79 (entry #1468).

³⁰ R. Alston and R.D. Alston, "Urbanism and the Urban Community in Roman Egypt," *JEA* 83 (1997) 199-216 at 214 collect data to show that "there is a 95% chance that 41-72% of males remained in the district of their father's registration." The figures of course mean that, even at the upper end of this estimate, there was plenty of mobility within the gymnasial class. See also van Minnen (n. 3) 339, note 5, for a critique of Alston and Alston's conclusions.

- ὥς ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ... ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ x (ἐτοῦς) NN γραφῇ: The complete phrase is almost certainly some variation of ὥς ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Θεῶν Δημητρίου ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ εἰ ἔτους θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ γραφῇ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου. There is not enough space for Οὐεσπασιανοῦ to be written out in full, but there are many examples of abbreviation in parallel documents; see for example *P.Oxy.* 46.3278.14 and *P.Mich.* 14.676.4.³¹

- Θέων Δημητρίο[υ: The papyrus is torn after αὐτο leaving only a trace of ink, which context demands must be an *upsilon*, before the text resumes on a cracked and faded surface. The fibers have been pinched upward and there are traces of four letters before another tear almost completely obliterates one letter. However, the fact that the damaged word appears directly below the exact same word in the previous line allows a fruitful comparison with the traces. The first letter is rounded and is very similar to the upper half of a *theta* as in the line above. Of the second, only a small point of ink remains, but enough to suggest the rounding of an *epsilon*. The *omega* is almost completely gone, but the top end of *nu* survives intact. Of Δημητρίου, the -τριο- is clear, and the preceding four letters have all left traces consistent with the reconstructed name. The top point and the oblique of *delta* survive, followed by two uprights with a hole punched between them, consistent with an *eta*. The saddle of a *mu* and the two uprights of the second *eta* are clearly visible.

7 προσβάντα: Consistent with standard usage (cf. *P.Oxy.* 46.3276-3284), this appearance of προσβάντα is an elliptical reference to the attainment of the status of a thirteen-year-old. Membership in this age class is a prerequisite for application to the gymnasium.³² The complete phrase appears in line 10 of this very document, confirming the usage.

7-8 ἐν ταῖς τοῦ γ[υμνασ]ίου [γραφαῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοδου NN καὶ τὸν πάπ-π]ον: Compare the language at *P.Oxy.* 46.3283.17-18. As in line 5, the district is uncertain.

8 τῶι ᾱ (ἔτει) θεοῦ Ἀ[δ]ριανοῦ: 117 CE, the only firm date in the document.

9 ἐπικεκρίσθαι ἐπ' ἀμφοδου ca. 10]: Compare the language at *P.Mich.* 14.676.7-10.

³¹ Montecchi, "PSI 4.457" (n. 3) 54 points out that abbreviation is more common in such documents in the third century.

³² Yiftach-Firanko (n. 3) 52; cf. N. Kruit, "Age Reckoning in Hellenistic Egypt," in A.M.F.W. Verhoogt and S.P. Vleeming (eds.), *The Two Faces of Greco-Roman Egypt* (Leiden 1998) 37-58, especially 54-55.

- προσβάντα τῷ ἡ (ἔτει) θεοῦ: Probably of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (168 CE) or Antoninus Pius (145 CE), since only they had sufficiently long reigns in a period when we might reasonably expect the boy's grandfather to join the class of thirteen-year-olds. Antoninus Pius is the better candidate, since there does not seem to be enough space to fit the names of both Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus which would most likely appear in the much longer formula θεῶν Αὐρηλίων Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου as at *P.Oxy.* 18.2186.8. The τῷ is damaged, but legible. The horizontal of *tau* is clear, although the vertical has been destroyed by a crack in the papyrus. A shallow, somewhat elongated *omega* survives, and the *iota* is just visible along another crack.

10 ἀμφόδ]ου Δεκάτης: The name of a district in Oxyrhynchus and the reason for assigning this document to that city. See above, note 2.

- καὶ ἐμὲ δέ: The *delta* is rubbed away in the lower right corner, and the left side is not as fully closed as other examples of the same letter in this text. Only a small trace of the bottom of the *epsilon* remains, but the horizontal stroke is visible at the beginning of the next word. This is an unusual phrase, but not unparalleled. See *P.Oxy.* 22.2345.4 for an example in an *epikrisis* document.

- προσβάντα εἰς (τρισκαιδεκαετείς): The papyrus reads ιγ', but the ' is much curvier than those in lines 8, 9, and later in this line. Nevertheless, this numerical representation of the class of 13 year-olds is attested; cf. *P.Oxy.* 46.3276.17.

- τῷ ἡ (ἔτει): The vertical of the *tau* is missing and the *omega* is very broad. The *iota* is barely visible.

11 [θεοῦ NN - - - ἐπὶ ταῖς προ]κειμέναις: A year is given at the end of the previous line, requiring the name of an emperor here. If the mother's genealogy had been reported, this is where it would have appeared, but with the emperor's name, there is clearly not enough space even for a short phrase like καὶ τὸν πάππον αὐτῆς to allow ἐπὶ ταῖς προκειμέναις to be a short-form claim to gymnasial status.³³

11-12 παρ-[σχόντα τῆς ἐπικρίσεως γνωστῆρας: The rounded letter at line end is disturbed by a break in the papyrus and has an unusually long horizontal stroke, but the traces seem more compatible with *alpha* than *epsilon*. In either case, the prefix παρ- and the oath that follows suggests that some form of the verb παρέχω is missing here, apparently divided between lines 11 and 12, followed by a mention of witnesses; cf. line, *P.Mich.* 14.676.19. The presence of

³³ As suggested by Montecvecchi, "PSI 5.457" (n. 3) 52-55; see above, note 16.

witnesses is also attested in *PSI* 5.457, *P.Oxy.* 18.2186, and *P.Oxy.* 22.2345. See above, note 20. Another possible supplement is τῆς εἰσκρίσεως γνωστήρας, as in *PSI* 5.457.17.³⁴

12-15 ὁμ[γύω τὴν ... τῷ[ι] ὄρκω[ι]: The standard oath accompanying these applications to the gymnasial class, sworn on the fortune of the reigning emperor; cf. *P.Mich.* 14.676.19-22, *P.Mil. Congr.* XIV p. 29, lines 5-8, *P.Oxy.* 18.2186.10-12, *PSI* 5.457.18-21.

13 εἶν[αι] τὸν Ἐρμίαν τῇ φύσει ἑμαυτοῦ: It is regular in such texts for the father to declare that his son is his own child by birth, but there is some variation as to the exact wording of the formula. See for example *P.Mich.* 14.676.21 and 29, *PSI* 5.457.19, *P.Oxy.* 22.2345.8, *P.Oxy.* 18.2186.11, *P.Oxy.* 10.1266.33.

14]τος τῆς καὶ Τερπῶτος: Terpos is apparently the alias of the boy's mother. The first -ος is preceded by a horizontal stroke, probably of a *tau*, and is almost certainly the genitive singular ending of her given name. Because the text was created after Caracalla's universal grant of citizenship in 212, the mother presumably followed the regular custom of prefixing Αὐρηλία to her personal name. The mention of the mother's names is a continuation of the declaration of the boy's natural birth in the previous line, and so we may tentatively restore something like εἶν[αι] τὸν Ἐρμίαν τῇ φύσει ἑμαυτοῦ [τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τῆς Αὐρηλίας Σαραποῦτ]ος τῆς καὶ Τερπῶτος κτλ. See discussion of the name Σαραποῦς above.

16 Μάρκο]υ Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Εὐσεβο[ῦ]ς Εὐ[τυχοῦς Σε]β[α]στοῦ: The emperor's name appears again, presumably as part of a dating formula giving the month, day, and year of the creation of the document. This is the full title of Gordian III, used frequently of him, but rarely of the earlier Gordians, and then only in the company of many other generic imperial titles.³⁵ Thus, the text dates to the period of his reign, 238-244, although the exact year remains uncertain.

17 το]ῦ Σαραπίωνος [μη]τρὸς Δι-: Coming after the oath sworn by the boy's father, these names are likely to give the identity of a witness; cf. *P.Mich.* 14.676.28-34 where the witnesses are given both patronymic and metronymic identification. In that text, the witnesses have written in their own hands, but

³⁴ Sijpesteijn (n. 3) 188-189 points out that an *eiskrisis* takes place after an *epikrisis*, and thus in such texts individuals named as witnesses of an *eiskrisis* should be understood as witnesses of an event that has already occurred before the present scrutiny.

³⁵ See M. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology: 235-284* (Amsterdam 1990) 144-149, 157-196.

in the present text the hand appears to remain constant. The *iota* of the witnesses' mother's name (perhaps Didyma?) has a slight curvature not exhibited by other *iotas* in this text.

18 τὸν πατέρα σ[In *P.Mich.* 14.676, the witnesses make short statements affirming that the applicant is truly the son of his parents by birth, as in lines 29-30: γνωστεύω τὸν Θῶνιν ὄντα φύσει υἱὸν τοῦ Κοπρέως καὶ τῆς Θερμουθίου. It is possible that in the present text the witnesses affirm paternity instead with some such phrase as γνωστεύω τὸν [name] ὄντα τὸν πατέρα σοῦ, although this specific phrase has no parallel in similar texts.

19 [- -]τρεις α[ca. 7]ς: Probably these letters are the remains of the names of further witnesses, and the extreme flourish of the final *sigma* at line end suggests that this may be the last line of the document. The horizontal stroke at the top of the *sigma* is stretched out to cover as much space as four letters do in the line above.

A Third-Century CE List of Wine from Five Estates

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Abstract

A text stating the wine harvest of a certain year, breaking the total sums down into smaller quantities for five estates. The text also lists the names of three people to whom amounts of wine were due.

Physical Description

P.Mich. inv. 4183 *verso* is a single piece of papyrus showing three columns of text written across the fibers. The upper margin now measures 2 cm at its tallest, although originally it may have been taller; the lower margin is lost. Columns one and two have a height of eleven lines while the third has a height of thirteen lines, showing that part of the text has been lost along with the lower margin. The text has not been published previously.

The text is written in a medium-sized, trained hand, slanting slightly to the right. Although clear throughout, the writing shows the practiced speed – visible mostly in the rounded *kappa* and *beta* – typical of documentary papyri. The particularities of the script, such as the interchange of capital *nu* with cursive *nu*, allow us confidently to ascribe it to the third century CE.¹ In all three columns a marked indentation is used, clearly intended to facilitate reading.

The *recto* of this papyrus, so far also unpublished, shows two columns of fourteen lines and eight lines, containing conclusions of contracts written in two different hands; at the bottom of the second column a signature with the clearly legible words δι(ὰ) Ἰβίωντων appears.² As with the *verso*, the script suggests a third century CE date. Part of the *recto* text, written upside-down from the *verso*, is missing on the left, meaning that the left part of the *verso* might also be missing.

¹ For a parallel, see G. Cavallo, “Greek and Latin Writing in the Papyri,” R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 101-148 at 122, figure 5.16.

² The village name Ἰβίων was quite common in Roman Egypt, Calderini-Daris, *Diz. geogr.* 3:8-15.

Provenance, Context, and Date

No find location is recorded for this papyrus. It was acquired in October 1926 (Askren papyri, lot II) for the collection of the University of Michigan, and at the time of purchase its archaeological context was unknown. A number of elements in the text contain geographical information: an Antinoite citizen appears, and five estates are listed in an account of wine harvests. In isolation, the information from the estate names would suggest an Oxyrhynchite provenance of P.Mich. inv. 4183 *verso*, although potential parallel attestations are either late in date or few in number, and some names have similar-sounding equivalents in the Arsinoite nome. However, the information from the estate names is countered by the two titles of the Antinoite citizen mentioned in the first column: δῶκτης χωμάτων and αἰγιαλοφύλαξ. Especially the latter shows a marked connection to the Fayum.³ An even stronger argument for assigning P.Mich. inv. 4183 *verso* to the Arsinoite and not the Oxyrhynchite nome is the two types of measurement used to list the wine harvest: the μονόχωρον and the δίχωρον. To date, the first of these measures has not been attested for certain in Oxyrhynchite papyri while the second has been found only twice, in texts dating to the fifth and seventh century CE.⁴ But although these measures are virtually absent from the Oxyrhynchite nome, they are well-known from the third-century CE Fayum. Supporting evidence is provided by words (δ[ι]-φκτη, first column; προκλε[ισμο]ῦ, second column) that are rare and have to date only been found in Arsinoite papyri.⁵ On balance, then, it seems best to assume a Arsinoite origin of P.Mich. inv. 4183 *verso*.

The question of where to place this papyrus geographically has some bearing on its importance as documentary evidence for the economy of Roman Egypt. The amounts of wine mentioned in the second column (the total harvest of one year) are substantial: 318 δίχωρα (8,268 liters) and 555 μονόχωρα (7,215

³ See commentary at Column i 2-4.

⁴ See N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, "Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt," *APF* 45 (1999) 96-127 at 108-109. Kruit and Worp reject the reading (μόνο)χ(ωρον) in *POxy.* 10.1341.1, 2 (fourth century CE). They also reject the reading δι(χωρον/-α) in *P.IFAO* 3.49 (early fourth century CE) and *P.IFAO* 2.12.b (fourth/fifth century CE), leaving only *P.Stras.* 5.394 (fifth century CE) and *P.Laur.* 4.185.A.16 (seventh century CE). A search in the *DDBDP* did not yield other Oxyrhynchite instances. See also P. Mayerson, "The Brief Life of an Innovation: The Tri-Keramia System Based upon the Maximian Cotyla," *ZPE* 136 (2001) 221-224; P. Mayerson, "The Monochoron and Dichoron: Standard Measures for Wine based on the Oxyrhynchition," *ZPE* 131 (2000) 169-172.

⁵ See commentary at Column i 2-4 and Column ii 11.

liters).⁶ These numbers show wine production and agricultural management on a considerable scale. The μονόχωρον and the δίχωρον appear above all in the Heroninus archive documenting the running of the Appianus estate, and P.Mich. inv. 4183 *verso* could belong to the same documentation.⁷ Heroninus himself is not mentioned in the extant lines, and the proper names that do appear are not attested in other known texts from the archive, so a link cannot be established with certainty. However, if the text does indeed belong to Heroninus' documentation, the anonymous fourth year mentioned in the first and second column should refer to 256/7 CE, the fourth regnal year of Valerianus and Gallienus.⁸

Unfortunately, the text does not give us any information on why amounts of wine were due to the three people listed in the first column. They are not provided with titles signalling a role in the estate's management such as φροντιστής or προνοητής. The available information is limited, but lines 4 and 6 of the first column suggest that the amounts of wine due to them were not particularly large, relatively speaking. Perhaps the recipients were private buyers of the estate's produce.

P.Mich. inv. 4183 *verso* H x W = 10.5 x 22.5 cm Arsinoite nome?
256/7 CE?

Column i

το]ύτων ἀναλώματος
οὐ(τως)· Ἰππολύτῳ Ἀντινοεῖ δ[ι]ψκτη
χωμάτων καὶ αἰγιαλοφύ-
λακι, <Κτήμ(ατος)> Καλαβ(έλεως?) γενημ(άτων) δ (ἔτους)
δίχω(ρον) α

5 Νεμεσίῳνι στρα(τηγήσαντι) παραγεν-
μένῳ οἴνου δίχω(ρον) α –
τῷ αὐτῷ Ἰππολύτῳ <διώκτη χωμάτων> καὶ αἰγι-
αλοφύλακι τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ]
Κτήματος [

10 Ἡρακλάμμωνι ἐριε[μπόρω?
δῖ[χ]ω(ρα) [. . .] . α . . τοῦ [

⁶ At 13 liters to the μονόχωρον. See commentary at Column i 4.

⁷ D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-century A.D. Egypt: The Heroninus Archive and the Appianus Estate* (Cambridge 1991) 468-471.

⁸ Rathbone (n. 7) 420-424.

Column ii

- γενημ(άτων) δ (ἔτους) δίχω(ρα) τη
 μονόχω(ρα) φνε
 ὦν Κτήμ(ατος) Ἀλεξανδρίνου
 δίχω(ρα) ρη μονόχω(ρα) ρν,
 5 Κτήμ(ατος) Μεγάλου δίχω(ρα) ρη μο(νόχωρα) σ,
 Κτήμ(ατος) Καλαβ(έλεως?) δίχω(ρα) νδ [[μο(νόχωρα)]]
 ὄξους μονόχω(ρα) δ,
 Κτήμ(ατος) Πλινθουργ(ῶν) δίχω(ρα) ξη
 μονόχω(ρα) ρρη
 10 Κτήμ(ατος) [[Πλινθουργ(ῶν)]] Νεοφύτου ὄξους μο(νόχωρα) β,
 ἀπὸ προκλη[ισμο]ῦ μονόχω[(ρον) α]

Column iii

- τοῦ αὐτοῦ [δ (ἔτους)?
 ὁμοίω[ς
 ὁμοίω[ς
 καὶ ἐπρά[θη?
 5 Κουλο[ύπων?
 οἶνο[υ
 γί(νονται) [
 λ ὄξου[ς
 αὐτοῦ δ (ἔτους) δίχω[(ρα)
 10 ὁμ[ο]ίως μονόχω[ω(ρα)
 [Κτ]ήμ(ατος) Ἀλεξ(ανδρίνου) δι[χω(ρα)
 [Κτη]ήμ(ατος) Μεγάλου δι[χω(ρα)
 [

Column i: 4 διχ^ω 6 διχ^ω 11 δι[χ]^ω Column ii: 1 διχ^ω 2 μονοχ^ω 4 διχ^ω
 μονοχ^ω 5 διχ^ω, μο(νόχωρα): ο written above μ 6 διχ^ω, μο(νόχωρα): ο writ-
 ten above μ 7 μονοχ^ω 8 διχ^ω 9 μονοχ^ω 10 νεοφυτου written above
 πλινθουργ 11 μονοχ^ω Column iii: 9 διχ^ω

“Of the expense of all, as follows: to Hippolytus, Antinoite, master of dykes and warden of the shore, of the harvest from the Kalabelis? <estate> of the fourth year, 1 *dichoron*; to Nemesion, former *strategos*, who was present, 1 *dichoron* of wine; to the same Hippolytus, <master of dykes> and warden of

the shore, from the same estate ... to Heraklammon, wool-merchant? ... ?? *dichora* ... of the ...

Of the harvest of the fourth year: 318 *dichora*, 555 *monochora*, of which from the Alexandrinos estate: 98 *dichora*, 150 *monochora*; from the great estate: 98 *dichora*, 200 *monochora*; from the Kalabelis? estate: 54 *dichora*, [[*mo(nochora)*]] 4 *monochora* of must; from the brickworkers' estate: 68 *dichora*, 198 *monochora*; from the [[brickworkers]] Neophytos estate 2 *monochora* of must, from the locked storage 1 *monochoron*.

Of the same fourth year? ... Similarly ... Similarly ... and were sold? ... Kouloupon? ... of wine ... a total of ... of must ... of the same fourth year: ?? *dichora* ... similarly ?? *monochora* ... from the Alexandrinos estate, ?? *dichora* ... from the great estate, ?? *dichora* ..."

Column i

1 A common opening for lists like these is λόγος "list (of expense)," e.g. *SB* 14.11555.1 (post-268 CE, Theadelphia): λόγος ἀναλωμάτων οἴνου; *SB* 6.9408.1.5 (250 CE, Theadelphia): λόγος λήμματος καὶ ἀναλώματος. However, the reading λημμάτων can be ruled out (the upward stroke of the ink mark before -ων suggest upsilon not alpha) and an opening λόγος followed by a genitive plural . . .]υτων and then a genitive singular ἀναλώματος does not show parallels in *DDBDP*. The best solution seems therefore το]ύτων ἀναλώματος, of which there are several instances in *DDBDP*: *P.Mil. Vogl.* 1.28.29 (163 CE, Tebtynis); *PSI* 8.959.8 (fourth century CE, Hermopolite nome); *P.Brem.* 83.4 (fourth century CE, unknown provenance). It is possible that the text opened with λόγος in a column to the left that is now lost. The *recto* of *P.Mich. inv.* 4183 suggests a large section of papyrus is missing on the left, perhaps as much as 19 cm. Unless the papyrus was cut for reuse, there might have been an additional one or two columns of *verso* text, preceding the first column visible now.

2 The name Ἰππόλυτος / Ἰπολύτη is rare in papyri and ostraca. A search in *DDBDP* turned up only four instances: *P.Hib.* 1.110.69, 96 (third century BCE, unknown provenance); *P.Oxy.* 57.3905.7, 22 (99 CE, Pela); *O. Wilck.* 288.1 (second century CE, Elephantine or Syene); *Stud. Pal.* 20.68.Fr.II.4.15 (third century CE, Hermopolite nome).

2-4 δ[ι]ώκτης χωμάτων: διώκτης, "pursuer" (LSJ), is more usually found in compounds like ἵπποδιώκτης or ἐργοδιώκτης; the combination with χωμάτων does not show parallels in *DDBDP*. On the analogy of ἐργοδιώκτης,

“taskmaster” (LSJ), the best translation here is perhaps “master of dykes.”⁹ The word διώκτης in a non-compound form appears only once in *DDBDP: P.Laur.* 3.99.2.8 (mid-third century CE, Theadelphia) κωμάρχει ὥστε{σ} διώκτη μ(ονόχωρον) α.

- αἰγιαλοφύλαξ: “warden of the shore” (LSJ); for information on the responsibilities of an αἰγιαλοφύλαξ, see especially *P.Ryl.* 2.81 (early second century CE, Arsinoite nome).¹⁰ Because Hippolytus was an Antinoite citizen, he was exempt from performing liturgies outside Antinoopolis.¹¹ Nonetheless, the title of αἰγιαλοφύλαξ seems to have been Arsinoite in nature: the *DDBDP* shows twenty-one instances, all Arsinoite.

4 δίχω(ρον): a wine measure, double the size of a μονόχωρον. Rathbone takes a μονόχωρον of wine to be equivalent to about 7.3 liters (3 χόες of about 2.4 liters).¹² However, Kruit and Worp have convincingly challenged this estimate. They argue that, first, the fact that in the Heroninus archive a κεράμιον of oil contains 3 χόες does not necessarily imply that a (κεράμιον) μονόχωρον of wine also held 3 χόες. Instead, 4 χόες per μονόχωρον fits better both with the Roman system of the 8-χόες amphora and with the other measure of the Heroninus archive, the Ὀξυρυγχίτιον (which would then contain a more logical 6 instead of 4.5 χόες). Second, they point out that Rathbone’s χούς content of 2.4 liters is not confirmed by any metrological source, arguing for the Attic χούς (circa 3.25 liters) instead. Their argument implies a μονόχωρον content of circa 13 liters, which is more in line with the metrological system of third-century Roman Egypt as well as the comparanda from Philadelphiea on the loads donkeys carried over relatively short distances.¹³

5-6 στρα(τηγῆσαντι): in *P.Sakaon* 32.19-20 (254-268 CE, Arsinoite nome) a Νεμεσίωνος στρατηγῆσαντος appears.¹⁴ Given the likely provenance and date of *P.Mich. inv.* 4183 *verso*, this is an attractive candidate. Depending on the exact date of Nemesion’s tenure, στρα(τηγῶ) is also possible. Alter-

⁹ See also D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l’eau du Nil dans l’Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (Leiden 1993) 301-302.

¹⁰ C. Drecoll, *Die Liturgien im römischen Kaiserreich des 3. und 4. Jh. n. Chr.* (Stuttgart 1997) 171-173.

¹¹ M. Malouta, “Antinoite Citizenship under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius: A Prosopographical Study of the First Thirty Years of Antinoopolis,” *BASP* 46 (2009) 81-96 at 82-83.

¹² Rathbone (n. 7) 468-471.

¹³ Kruit and Worp (n. 4) 108-109 and 120-127.

¹⁴ For a note on the date, see J.D. Thomas, review of G.M. Parássoglou, *The Archive of Aurelius Sakaon*, *Gnomon* 53 (1981) 805-807 at 806-807.

natively, though less likely, this is an abbreviated patronym, e.g. Στράτωνος, *BGU* 11.2072.251 (second century CE, Arsinoite nome[?]); *CPR* 13.4.60 (third century CE, Arsinoite nome).

- παραγεναμένω: probably meaning that Nemesion collected his one δίκωρον of wine in person. For a parallel, see *P.Laur.* 3.99.3.3 (mid-third century CE, Theadelphia): “Ἡρωνι παραγεναμένω μονόχωρον α.”

8 τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ: if correct, this should logically go with Κτήματος, i.e. the Καλαβ(έλεως?) estate mentioned in line 4. In the lacuna in line 9 there should then follow an amount of wine or must in δίκωρα or μονόχωρα.

10 ἐριε[μύρω?: given that the two men listed in lines 2 and 5 seem to be identified with official titles, one would expect a title or occupation here as well. Visible is either εσιε[, which is hard to make sense of, or possibly ἐριε[. The word ἐριέμπορος (“wool-merchant”) is rare, though; see e.g. *SB* 16.12695.14 (post-143 CE, Oxyrhynchus).¹⁵

Column ii

1-11 The list in this column seems to be complete, or nearly so. The text mentions 98 + 98 + 54 + 68 δίκωρα (= 318). Of μονόχωρα, there are listed: 150 + 200 + 4 + 198 + 2 (= 554), leaving only μονόχω[(ρον) α] as the emendation for line 22. The column still seems to be missing at least two lines though, judging by the height of Column iii.

3 Κτήμ(ατος) Ἀλεξανδρίνου: an otherwise unattested estate. Possible parallels are all late: in several papyri from the Fayum, dating from the sixth to the eighth century CE, a χωρίον Ἀλεξάνδρου is mentioned; in *P.Oxy.* 16.2025.40 (sixth or seventh century CE, Oxyrhynchus) an ἐποικίον Ἀλεξανδρέων appears.¹⁶

5 Κτήμ(ατος) Μεγάλου: because the name is unspecific, potential parallels can not be conclusive. A Μέγα χωρίον is attested in fourth- to seventh-century CE Oxyrhynchus as well as in the sixth-century CE Hermopolite nome. A Μέγας Κλήρος is also known from the Oxyrhynchite nome (second century CE) as well as from Theadelphia (third century CE).¹⁷ The word

¹⁵ See J. Rea, “P.Lond.inv.1562 verso: Market Taxes in Oxyrhynchus,” *ZPE* 46 (1982) 191-209 at 202.

¹⁶ Calderini-Daris, *Diz.geogr.* 1:208 and 213. See also J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit: Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption* (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, Paris 1990) 265.

¹⁷ Calderini-Daris, *Diz.geogr.* 3:247 and 251.

Μεγάλ- also appears in combination with several Oxyrhynchite geographical names, Καλάβη among them (see commentary at Column i 6).¹⁸

6 Κτήμ(ατος) Καλαβ(έλεως?): no Καλαβ- estate is known from the Fayum, although several proper names beginning with Καλαβ- are attested in third-century Fayum papyri, Καλαβέλις, appearing 13 times in *DDBDP*, being the most frequent (also: -ελεις, -αλις, -αιλις, -ελις, 16 instances total). A geographical location Καλάβη or Καλύβη appears in several Oxyrhynchite papyri (all sixth or seventh century CE) related to the Apion family: *P.Oxy.* 16.2031.18; *P.Oxy.* 18.2197.34; *P.Oxy.* 19.2244.30.¹⁹ See also *P.Oxy.* 16.2055.40 (sixth century CE). It is possible that a so far unattested Kalabe estate – likely not an Egyptian, but a Greek name derived from καλύβη (“hut,” “cabin”) – existed in the Fayum as well.

8 Κτήμ(ατος) Πλινθουργ(ών): Πλινθουργ(οῦ) is also possible, but we should perhaps rather be thinking of a plot originally owned or occupied by a group of brickworkers. A similarly named estate appears in *P.Col.* 8.238.34 (fourth century CE, Oxyrhynchite nome): ἐδάφ(ους) Πλινθουργ(γ).²⁰ However, even if the epithet seems to have been unusual, it is hardly inconceivable that there were several so-named estates in Roman Egypt.

10 Κτήμ(ατος) Νεοφύτου: a Νεόφυτος γῦος is attested in the Fayum (*P.Tebt.* 2.311.18, second century CE, Tebtynis). However, a Κτήματος [λεγομένου?] Νεοφύτου is mentioned in *P.Oxy.* 10.1286 verso (third century CE, Oxyrhynchus) and a village named Νεόφυτος appears in *P.Oxy.* 36.2778.11-12 (second or third century CE, Oxyrhynchus), *P.Sorb.* 1.60.4 (fifth century CE, Oxyrhynchite nome), *SB* 1.1945.15 (fifth or sixth century CE, Oxyrhynchus), and *SB* 1.1973.20 (no date, Oxyrhynchite nome).²¹

11 ἀπὸ προκλε[ισμο]ῦ: the word προκλεισμός has so far been attested only once, in *SB* 14.12054.3 (253 CE, Arsinoe?): Μεσορή ι[[βα]]α εἰς προκλεισμόν. The word κλεισμός (“storing under lock and key,” LSJ) has been found in a comparable context: *P.Oxy.* 12.1578.7 (220-224 CE, Oxyrhynchite nome), κλεισμοῦ οἴνου κυριακοῦ. The meaning here should therefore perhaps

¹⁸ Krüger (n. 16) 278.

¹⁹ Calderini-Daris, *Diz.geogr.* 3:60; Krüger (n. 16) 274. See also *SB* 16.12764.3.12 (first or second century CE, Oxyrhynchus): ἀπὸ Καλύβου, which perhaps refers to a place name rather than a personal name.

²⁰ On the spelling of the word πλινθουργ- or πλινθουλκ- in papyri, K.A. Worp, “Πλινθουλκ- vs. πλινθουργ-: Is There Any Difference?” *Mnemosyne* 54 (2001) 734-739.

²¹ Calderini-Daris, *Diz.geogr.* 3:336.

be “from the locked storage.” Van Lith, in her translation of *SB* 14.12054.3, proposes “(wine) stored in a barrel,” (“Lagerung in einer Tonne”).²²

Column iii

4 ἐπρά[θη?: an emendation that fits the context, especially if the three men in the first column are, indeed, buyers and the text is at least partially about sales of μονόχωρα and δίχωρα of wine. For a parallel, see *P.Gen.* 2.1.71 (third century CE, Arsinoite nome).

5 Κουλο[ύπων?: a χωρίον Κουλούπων is attested in the Fayum in papyri dating from the sixth to the eighth century CE: *Stud.Pal.* 10.250 *recto* 7 (sixth century); *Stud.Pal.* 10.60.2.12 (seventh century); *Stud.Pal.* 10.159.4 (seventh century); *Stud.Pal.* 10.74 *verso* 2.6 (seventh/eighth century); *SB* 1.5338.7 (seventh century).²³ If this is indeed a geographical name, the omission of Κτήματος makes it uncertain if this is yet a sixth estate, though. It is also possible that]κουλο[υθίαν (see *PPetaus* 44.9 [pre-185 CE, Arsinoite nome]), or e.g. Προ]κούλο[υ (see *BGU* 1.21.16 [340 CE, Hermopolite nome]).

²² S.M.E. van Lith, “Aufstellung über den Eintrag einer Weinernte,” *Talanta* 8/9 (1977) 58-73 at 63 and 70.

²³ Calderini-Daris, *Diz.geogr.* 3:148.

Handwritten text on a heavily damaged, torn piece of paper. The text is written in a cursive script, likely a historical form of Dutch or German. The paper is dark and shows significant wear, including large tears and missing sections. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words appearing to be part of a list or a series of entries. The handwriting is somewhat faded and difficult to decipher in many places due to the damage to the paper.

Des nouvelles de Paniskos¹

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Abstract

Edition of a new papyrus belonging to a group of letters sent to Ploutogenia by her husband Paniskos, who probably took part, as a soldier, in the revolt of Domitius Domitianus against Diocletian (ca. AD 297). The new text deals exclusively with private matters.

Le texte présenté ici (P.Mich. inv. 1371) est une lettre privée, dont le début manque et, avec lui, le nom des correspondants. Tel qu'il était conservé jusqu'il y a peu, les salutations finales se trouvaient bizarrement au milieu du texte: le vendeur avait collé les deux fragments en inversant leurs positions, la l. 2 sui-

¹ C'est dans le cadre du projet APIS que j'ai été amené à m'intéresser au petit dossier de Paniskos et Ploutogénia et, en particulier, à ce papyrus. Que le présent article soit encore une fois pour moi l'occasion de remercier tous ceux qui ont été à la base de ce projet ou qui y ont participé, κατ' ὄνομα. — Cette nouvelle lettre de Paniskos a été présentée dans une communication au XXIV^e Congrès de Papyrologie, tenu à Helsinki en août 2004. La présente édition a bénéficié des commentaires des personnes présentes, mais aussi de suggestions de plusieurs membres du jury qui m'a accordé l'habilitation à diriger des recherches en décembre 2008, puis des éditeurs et du lecteur anonyme du *BASP*. Qu'ils en soient tous remerciés, avec une mention particulière aux éditeurs, pour leur patience face à mes retards. Toute erreur reste bien entendu mienne.

Les ouvrages suivants seront cités de manière abrégée dans le corps de l'article:

Gignac = Fr.Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Milan 1976-1981), 2 vols.

Mandilaras = B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens 1973)

Mayser = E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*, 2nd ed. (Berlin and Leipzig 1923-1938)

Schwartz = J. Schwartz, «Autour du dossier de Paniskos (P. Mich. 214-221),» *Aegyptus* 48 (1968) 110-115

Zilliacus = H. Zilliacus, *Zur Sprache griechischer Familienbriefe des III. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (P. Michigan 214-221)* (Helsingfors 1943)

Sauf indication contraire, les dates s'entendent après J.-Chr.

vant la l. 30 et recouvrant partiellement les l. 31-32. Ce n'est pas un cas isolé dans le lot qui fut acquis en 1923 par l'University of Michigan, puisque J.G. Winter signale le même genre de collages pour *P.Mich.* 3.219 et 220.² Ces deux pièces appartiennent au petit ensemble de lettres envoyées par un certain Paniskos à sa femme Ploutogénia, vers 297 apr. J.-Chr. (*P.Mich.* 3.214-221, inv. 1361-1369). Plusieurs raisons permettent de supposer que tel est aussi le cas de notre texte: il a été acquis en même temps que les autres documents concernés et inventorié sous un numéro voisin; l'écriture est tout à fait compatible avec une datation à la fin du III^e s.; les salutations finales – à la fille de l'auteur de la lettre et à la mère de sa correspondante, ainsi qu'à certaines de leurs connaissances (l. 28-31) – sont similaires à ce qui se trouve dans d'autres lettres de Paniskos à Ploutogénia; l'expéditeur de ce courrier propose à sa compagne l'aide de son frère Aïôn (l. 14-16), comme en *P.Mich.* 3.218, puis il lui donne des nouvelles de son frère à elle, Hermias (l. 21-23), lui aussi mentionné dans plusieurs lettres de Paniskos; enfin, deux petits fragments de ce papyrus (partie droite des l. 18-23) avaient été mêlés et collés à ceux de *P.Mich.* 3.219, sous le numéro d'inv. 1368.

Cette correspondance se compose donc désormais de six lettres envoyées par Paniskos à Ploutogénia,³ d'une autre envoyée par le même à son frère Aïôn (*P.Mich.* 3.219+215)⁴ et d'une huitième, adressée par Ploutogénia à sa propre mère, Héliodôra (*P.Mich.* 3.221);⁵ ce dernier texte, qui mentionne un voyage à Alexandrie, ne présente guère de rapport de contenu avec les lettres de Paniskos et pourrait dater d'une autre époque de la vie de ces personnes. Pour le reste de la correspondance, J. Schwartz a proposé un ordre vraisemblable, que je reprends ici.⁶ Dans la première (*P.Mich.* 3.218), Paniskos, qui doit déjà être en Haute-Égypte, se montre avant tout soucieux de sa femme et de sa fille, qu'il a laissées au Fayoum; il envisage de pouvoir venir les retrouver. Parallèlement, il a écrit à son frère Aïôn, essentiellement pour lui recommander de veiller sur Ploutogénia et la petite Héliodôra, ainsi que sur ses affaires (*P.Mich.* 3.219+215, datée de Pharmouthi); sans doute cette lettre a-t-elle été remise à Ploutogénia pour lui servir de recommandation auprès d'Aïôn, si jamais elle avait besoin de son aide – quelle ne demanda jamais: c'est ce qui expliquerait le mieux sa présence parmi les lettres adressées à la femme de Paniskos. Quelque temps

² *P.Mich.* 3, p. 289; 291.

³ *P.Mich.* 3.214; 216-218; 220, auxquels vient s'ajouter le présent texte.

⁴ Ce texte, augmenté de deux petits nouveaux fragments, est réédité en annexe.

⁵ Il n'est pas exclu qu'il faille ajouter à ce petit ensemble *SB* 16.12326 (*P.Mich.* inv. 1363), une lettre de la même époque où une Héliodôra se plaint du comportement de sa fille (Ploutogénia?) à sa mère Isidôra. Cependant, la mention de Senepta (l. 14) laisse plutôt supposer une provenance oxyrhynchite.

⁶ Schwartz (n. 1) 110-115.

plus tard, celui-ci envoie une nouvelle lettre à Ploutogenia, pour lui annoncer qu'il est désormais à Coptos et pour l'inviter à l'y rejoindre, d'autant qu'elle y a – dit-il – une partie de sa famille. De manière fort directive, il lui dresse la liste des objets à amener, dont ses armes, et lui donne quelques conseils paternalistes pour le voyage (*P.Mich.* 3.214). Il l'invite à nouveau à venir, en insistant sur les armes à lui apporter, dans la lettre suivante (*P.Mich.* 3.216, datée de Pauni), mais il y envisage qu'elle n'accepte pas de faire le trajet;⁷ il se plaint qu'elle ne lui réponde pas, mais évoque lui-même ce qu'elle lui a écrit dans une lettre antérieure;⁸ enfin, il lui signale qu'il lui fait transmettre un talent par un certain Antoninus. Cette information est reprise dans le texte suivant à nous être conservé (*P.Mich.* 3.217),⁹ mais cette fois, Paniskos semble avoir perdu tout espoir que Ploutogénia vienne le rejoindre et lui demande seulement de lui donner des nouvelles – ce qu'elle semble refuser, malgré l'insistance du courrier. Il a en outre appris qu'elle a été rejoindre sa mère, et cela ne lui plaît pas: il semble quelque peu amer; malgré tout, il lui demande encore une fois de lui envoyer ses armes. Enfin, la dernière missive qui nous soit connue, la plus célèbre sans doute (*P.Mich.* 3.220, datée de Thôth), ne parle plus de leurs problèmes de couple, mais évoque surtout le fait que Hermias, frère de Ploutogénia, se trouve avec le préfet – le préfet d'Égypte, ou quelque commandant militaire? – et qu'il ne répond pas aux appels de Paniskos pour rejoindre le *corrector* Achilleus;¹⁰ or celui-ci était le second de Lucius Domitius Domitianus¹¹ dans sa révolte contre Dioclétien, ce qui permet de dater l'ensemble de ce dossier de 297/298 apr. J.-Chr. environ.¹² Il paraît probable que Paniskos ait été un

⁷ *P.Mich.* 3.216.9-10: ἡ (lire εἰ) οὖν οὐ θέλεις ἐλθεῖν, || ἀντίγραφόν μοι[ι]. «Si donc tu ne veux pas venir, réponds-moi par lettre.»

⁸ L. 13-15 et 27-33: ἔγραψας ὅτι κτλ., «tu m'as écrit que ...» Pour le deuxième passage, voir en annexe.

⁹ La mention de trois lettres antérieures restées sans réponse (*P.Mich.* 3.217.8-9) permet de supposer qu'un texte nous manque entre *P.Mich.* 3.216 et 217. Il n'y a aucune raison de penser qu'il s'agisse du document publié ici, qui n'évoque nullement, dans les fragments conservés, l'arrivée de Paniskos à Coptos et son souhait que Ploutogénia l'y rejoigne.

¹⁰ *PLRE* 1, p. 9, s.v. Achilleus 1.

¹¹ *PLRE* 1, p. 263, s.v. Domitianus 6.

¹² L'hypothèse d'une révolte en 296/297, défendue notamment par J. Schwartz, *L. Domitius Domitianus (étude numismatique et papyrologique)* (Bruxelles 1975) est désormais écartée. Cf. entre autres J.D. Thomas, «The Date of the Revolt of l. Domitius Domitianus», *ZPE* 22 (1976) 253-279; Id., «A Family Dispute from Karanis and the Revolt of Domitius Domitianus», *ZPE* 24 (1977) 233-240; C. Zuckerman, «Les campagnes des Tétrarques, 296-298. Notes de chronologie», *Antiquité tardive* 2 (1994) 65-70; Fr. Mitthof, *CPR* 23.20, commentaire (p. 122-124).

soldat prêt à participer à cette révolte, mais nous ne saurons jamais s'il a reçu ses armes à temps pour ce faire et s'il connut ainsi une fin brutale qui expliquerait l'arrêt de son courrier. Comment ces différents textes nous sont-ils parvenus ensemble? Tout simplement parce qu'ils ont été rassemblés par Ploutogénia: la mention d'intermédiaires différents d'un courrier à l'autre et celle d'une discussion de vive voix entre le porteur de courrier et elle (*P.Mich.* 3.217.20-25) ne permet pas d'imaginer que ces lettres se soient perdues en cours de route. Il s'agit donc bien d'une petite archive épistolaire, où se sont glissées la lettre à Aïôn, que Ploutogénia aura omis de transmettre, et celle qu'elle-même a écrit depuis Alexandrie à sa mère, chez qui elle résidait habituellement.

Reste à situer dans cette correspondance le nouveau document, dont l'état fragmentaire rend l'interprétation fort incertaine à plus d'un endroit. À plusieurs reprises (l. 4-5, 12-14), Paniskos cherche à apaiser Ploutogénia pour un problème qui ne peut être identifié, mais pour lequel elle semble réclamer désespérément sa présence (l. 5, 9-11); un courrier qu'il a reçu d'un certain Antoninus paraît se rapporter au même problème (l. 6-9). Quelqu'un, peut-être Paniskos, a apparemment eu une dispute (ἀ<η>δία) avec elle, et il tente d'en atténuer les effets (l. 16, 26). Il espère aussi pouvoir retourner chez lui à plus ou moins brève échéance (l. 4-5, 12-13, 19-20). Enfin, dans un passage malheureusement fragmentaire, il donne des nouvelles du frère de Ploutogénia, Hermias, qui – si l'interprétation proposée ci-dessous est correcte – a été malade, mais est arrivé à Coptos. Est-ce à dire qu'il a rejoint Paniskos dans l'armée du *corrector* Achilleus? Le texte ne le dit pas, et rien n'indique que Paniskos lui-même est à Coptos. Je serais plutôt tenté de considérer que cette lettre est la plus ancienne de celles qui nous sont connues, et donc antérieure à la révolte, puisque Ploutogénia en est encore à se plaindre à son mari, au lieu de se murer dans le silence, et puisque lui-même ne lui demande pas encore de venir à Coptos ou de lui envoyer ses armes. Par le contenu, ce texte se rapproche de *P.Mich.* 3.218, où l'on trouve, comme ici aux l. 14-16, une référence à l'aide qu'Aïôn, frère de Paniskos, peut éventuellement apporter à Ploutogénia. L'arrivée d'Hermias à Coptos n'est donc sans doute pas liée à la révolte de Domitius Domitianus et d'Achilleus.

L'apport majeur du présent papyrus est de confirmer la provenance de cette petite archive. Lors de leur acquisition, le vendeur avait précisé que ces documents provenaient du site de l'ancienne Philadelphie.¹³ Cependant, J. Schwartz, suite à une note erronée de J. G. Winter, a supposé qu'ils provenaient plutôt de Karanis.¹⁴ Le verso de la lettre publiée ici porte un seul mot clairement

¹³ *P.Mich.* 3, p. 275.

¹⁴ Schwartz (n. 1) 110, renvoyant à *P.Mich.* 3, p. 289: «From 218, 5 it would appear that Aion was living in Karanis.» C'est un lapsus de J. G. Winter: le passage concerné

lisible, même s'il est incomplet. Si la restitution proposée ci-dessous est correcte, c'est le nom du village de Philadelphie, qui devait appartenir à l'adresse de Ploutogénia; le même toponyme apparaît aussi au recto, lorsqu'Antoninus raconte ce qu'il a vu en allant dans ce village (l. 6-9).¹⁵ L'information donnée par le vendeur était donc très vraisemblablement correcte.

Comme dans la plupart des autres lettres de Paniskos,¹⁶ la langue du papyrus est caractérisée par de nombreux phénomènes phonétiques, affectant principalement les voyelles (iotacismes,¹⁷ confusions entre αι et ε,¹⁸ οι et υ,¹⁹ mais aussi entre ε et ο²⁰ ou ι,²¹ disparition de υ dans αὐτούς,²² remplacement du iota intervocalique par γι²³), mais aussi certaines consonnes (confusion entre les liquides ρ et λ).²⁴ Du point de vue morphologique, on notera surtout plusieurs aoristes en α, refaits sur des thèmes d'aoristes thématiques,²⁵ ainsi que l'emploi d'un aoriste sigmatique pour ἀνέχω,²⁶ ou de la forme refaite οἶδας (l. 27), banale dans les papyrus. Enfin, on remarquera l'absence de futur dans la principale après deux tournures éventuelles²⁷ et l'omission d'un article accompagnée d'une erreur de cas à la l. 15 ([ἀ]δελφ[ό]ν μου | Ἀγιῶν pour ὁ ἀδελφός μου Ἀϊῶν).

En dépit de cela, l'écriture est expérimentée, rapide, avec des ligatures assez nombreuses; parmi les lettres de Paniskos, elle rappelle surtout les mains des *P.Mich.* 3.214; 216; 219, mais sans leur être identique. Au recto, l'écriture est parallèle aux fibres.

(ἔγραψα || Αἰῶνι καὶ ἡ [l. εἰ] τι ἀφήκεις [l. ἀφήκεις] εἰς Ἡλίου [pour la lecture de ce mot, voir annexe] πέμψον ἐπ' αὐτά) mentionne Héliopolis comme lieu de résidence du frère de Paniskos. De toute façon, on ne voit pas pourquoi les lettres adressées par Paniskos à Ploutogénia et, à plus forte raison, celle envoyée par elle à sa mère auraient abouti entre les mains d'Αἰῶν.

¹⁵ Une troisième mention du village de Philadelphie se trouve peut-être à la l. 3, dans un contexte lacunaire.

¹⁶ De manière générale, voir notamment Zilliacus (n. 1).

¹⁷ Πρήν, l. 5; ῥ, l. 14; χρίαν, l. 14; ἔχισ, l. 15.

¹⁸ Ἀνεξε, l. 4; γράψηται, l. 5.

¹⁹ Πνεῖτε, l. 9.

²⁰ Τίνες, l. 13; τινες, l. 14; δέτω, l. 15.

²¹ Οὐδίγ, l. 11.

²² Ἀτούς, l. 8.

²³ Ἀγιῶν, l. 16.

²⁴ À l'aoriste de ἔρχομαι, l. 5, 11, 12, 23, 24.

²⁵ Cf. ἐγενάμην, l. 7; [παρε]||λάβαμεν, l. 19-20.

²⁶ Cf. ἀνεξαι, impératif de ἀνέχομαι, l. 4 et 12.

²⁷ L. 12-13: ἂν ἔρθω, βλέ|πω κτλ.; l. 19-20: ἂν θεὸς θ[ελή]σῃ, [παρε]||λάβαμεν ὑμᾶς.

Le papyrus a dû se briser le long du pli horizontal médian, de même qu'il s'est abîmé ou brisé le long des deux plis verticaux; l'aspect des fibres au verso suggère une lacune d'un ou deux centimètres entre les lignes 16 et 17, sans qu'il soit possible d'être sûr du nombre de lignes perdues. Le début du texte manque également, avec les salutations initiales et éventuellement des vœux de bonne santé; le problème traité aux l. 4-14 y était peut-être introduit. Puisque les dégâts sont plus ou moins symétriques de part et d'autre de la lacune médiane, il est possible que les salutations finales, commencées à la l. 28, aient continué encore bien au-delà de la l. 32, comme en *P.Mich.* 3.219+215.21-30, à moins qu'elles n'aient été suivies d'un espace laissé blanc, comme en *P.Mich.* 3.221. Quelques traces (l. 33) pourraient indiquer que le texte du recto se prolongeait au verso, mais il n'est pas sûr qu'elles correspondent à de l'écriture.

P.Mich. inv. 1371+1368a H. x L. = 22,2 x 9,4 cm

Région de Coptos(?)
vers 297 apr. J.-Chr.

- ↔ . [.] . [- - -]
 ἔγρ[α]ψε [- - -]
 με εἰς Φ . . [.] . [.] . . [. . .]
 ρα . . ι. Ἄνεξε [ο]ῦν ἄχρι οὔ
 5 ἔρθω. Πρὴν οὔν γράψηται[ι]
 μοι, ἔγραψέ μοι[ι] Ἀντωνῖνο[ς]
 ἀπὸ Ἡλιοῦ`ς' ὅτι «ἐγενάμην εἰς
 Φιλαδέλφειαν καὶ πρὸς ἀποῦς
 πνεῖτε [μοι] σὺ καὶ οἱ ἐμοί». Ἐγρα-
 10 ψάς μοι ὅτι «ᾧσον ἂν ποιῇ-
 ς, οὐδὲν ἀνέχομαι ὡς ἔρθης».
 Ἄνεξαι οὐ(ν) καί, ἂν ἔρθω, βλέ-
 πω τίνες ἐστὶν τὸ ἀμάρ-
 τημα. Ἡ τινες οὖν χρίαν
 15 ἔχεις, δέτω σοι [ἀ]δεلف[ό]ν μου
 Ἀγιῶν. Πῶς ὁ[μ]ως σοι ἀ(η)δίαγ
 (une ou plusieurs lignes perdues?)
 17 [.] . [. .] . [.] . . [.]
 μετὰ αὐτῶν . [.] . μι . [.]
 γις. Ἄν θεὸς θ[ελή]σῃ [κατε]-
 20 λάβαμεν ὑμᾶς ταχ . [. . . .]
 καὶ Ἑρμίας ἐγένετο [εἰς Κό]-
 πτον· ἐνωθράνθ[η δὲ]

ἐρθὼν καὶ πέπαυτ[αι]-
 κέτι ἐρθετω μ[- - -]
 25 ἀπὸ τῆς μητ[ρο- - -]
 ἀ(η)δῖαν ἐποίησα[- - - ὡς]
 οἶδας, οὐκ ἐγὼ τ[- - -]
 ὅποια δεῖ. Ἀσπά[ζομαι πολλὰ]
 τὴν θυγατέρα [μου καὶ τὴν]
 30 μητέρα σου [Ἡλιοδώραν καὶ]
 Νόγ[νον καὶ - - -]
 καὶ [- - -]
 - - - - -

Verso:

A. Suite du texte du recto(?):

1 ↑ [- - -] . [. . .] . [.] .

B. Adresse:

↔ [- - -] *traces* [- - -]

2 [- - - εἰς] Φιλαδέλ[φιαν - - -]



4 ἀνεξαῖ 5 ἔλθω, πρίν, γράψητέ 7 Ἡλίου πόλεως 8 αὐτοὺς 9 ποιεῖτε
 11 οὐδέν, ἔλθης (ης *ex* ω?), ἕως 12 ἔλθω 13 τίνος 14 εἴ τινος, χρειάν
 15 ἔχεις (*vel* ἔχης) δότω, ὁ ἀδελφός 16 Αἰῶν 20 ὑμας pap.
 22 ενωθρανθ[ι: θ[*ex* τ[23 ἐλθών 24 ἐλθέτω *vel* ἦλθε τῶ(?)

«[- - -] écrivit [- - -] Supporte(-le?) donc jusqu'à ce que je vienne. Avant que vous ne m'écriviez, Antoninus m'a écrit d'Héliopolis: «J'ai été à Philadelphie et vous (le?) faites contre eux, toi et les miens.» Tu m'as écrit: «quoi que tu fasses, je ne supporterai rien jusqu'à ce que tu viennes.» Supporte(-le?) donc et, si je reviens, je verrai qui est en tort. Si tu as besoin de quelque chose, que mon frère Αἰὼν te le donne. Comment cependant [- - -] une dispute pour toi [- - -] avec eux [- - -] Si dieu le veut, nous vous retrouverons vite [- - -]. Et Hermias a été à Coptos; en effet, il a été malade quand il est arrivé; et il a cessé (d'être malade), mais il n'est pas encore allé(?) [- - -] j'ai(?) eu une dispute [- - - comme] tu sais, moi, je ne [- - -] ce qu'il faut. J'embrasse [bien] ma fille et ta mère [Héliodôra et] Nonnos [- - -] et [- - -]

[Remets à Ploutogénia, de la part de Paniskos — À] Philadelphie(?).»

3 Sans doute εἰς Φιλ[αδ[έλφ]ι[α]ν.

4 La troisième lettre de cette ligne pourrait être γ, ν ou éventuellement σ: faut-il penser à une finale d'infinitif aoriste -σαι, ou à un σαι mis pour le pronom personnel σέ, p.ex. dans l'expression πα||ρὰ σέ, qui pourrait éventuellement préciser le complément de lieu de la l. 3? — L'aoriste premier de ἀνέχομαι, que l'on retrouve à la l. 12, n'est pas inconnu dans les papyrus, γ compris à l'impératif: cf. *SB* 12.10772.22 (II/III^e s., ἀνέξασθ . [- -]); *P.Brook.* 18.2.20 (III^e s.; ἀνῆξαν pour ἀνῆξεν, que l'éditeur hésite à rattacher à ἀνέχω ou à ἀνάγω); *P.Iand.* 6.96.12 (III^e s., impératif ἀνέξασθε), *P.Münch.* 3/1.131.7 (VII^e s.; ἀνέξασθε, l. -σθαι). Cf. Gignac (n. 1) 1:295 et, pour la confusion αι/ε, 1:191-193; Mandilaras (n. 1) 144, § 306 (10).

5 Pour la confusion entre ρ et λ, notamment dans l'aoriste de ἔρχομαι, où elle peut être influencée par le thème du présent, mais plus encore par les caractéristiques dialectales du parler fayoumique,²⁸ cf. Gignac (n. 1) 1:105. — Pour η au lieu de ι, cf. Gignac (n. 1) 1:238; le même mot est affecté par un iotacisme similaire (πρεῖν) en *SB* 4.7469.9 (193); *P.David* 16.B.13 (II-III^e s.). L'emploi du subjonctif, sans ἄν, après πρίν n'est pas sans parallèles à l'époque romaine: cf. p. ex. *P.Freib.* 4.57.19 (I-II^e s.); *P.Lund.* 6.3.14 (139?); *P.Oxy.* 18.2182.12 (166); *M.Chr.* 188.2.8 (127).

6-7 Ἡλιοῦ`ς', pour Ἡλίου (πόλεως): un certain nombre de toponymes des 1^e et 2^e déclinaisons semblent pareillement passer à la 3^e déclinaison par adjonction d'une terminaison féminine en -ώ, -οῦς.²⁹ La même orthographe se retrouve dans une autre lettre de Paniskos, *P.Mich.* 3.218.5,³⁰ mais aussi en *P.Lund.* 3.10.2.13 (98, Mertens-Pack³ 2485), une liste des taureaux sacrés vénérés en Égypte, dans une liste des évêques mélitiens, citée par Athanase d'Alexandrie,³¹ et parmi les principales villes de l'Augustamnique Seconde, dans la description du monde de Georges de Chypre au VII^e s.³² Dans les trois derniers cas, il est évidemment question de la grande ville située à la pointe méridionale du Delta. Cependant, Ploutogénia habitait à Philadelphie, soit à quelque 80 km de cette cité; aussi est-il difficile d'imaginer que Paniskos lui ait proposé, par deux fois, l'aide de son frère Aïôn, s'ils habitaient à une si grande

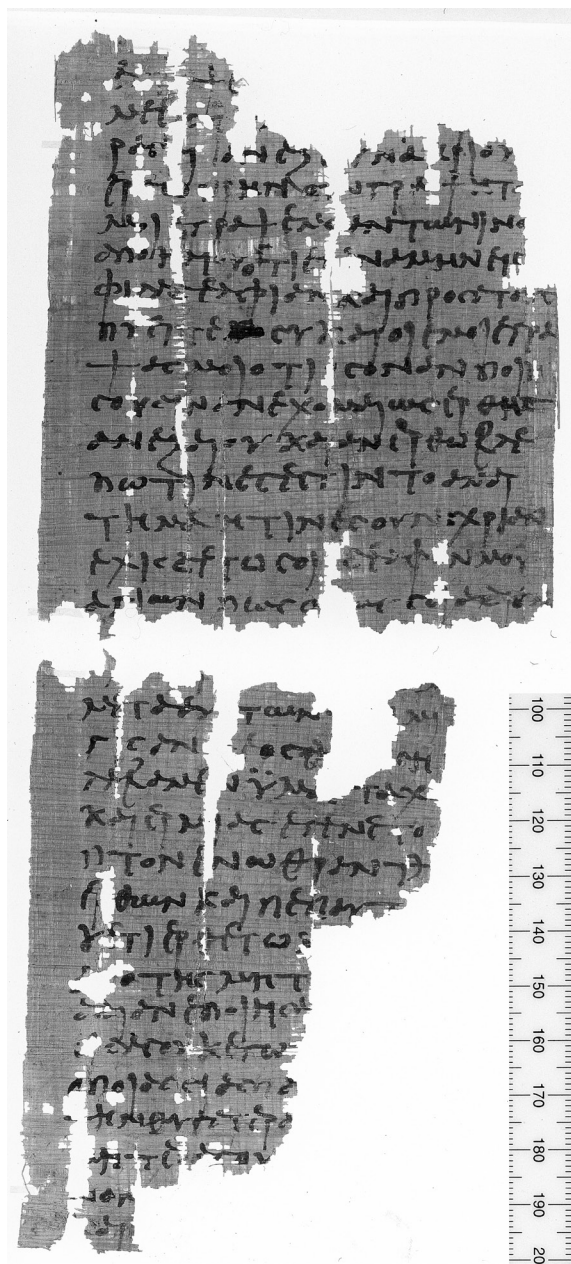
²⁸ Cf. W. C. Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik mit Lesestücken und Wörterbuch* (München 1961²) 7, § 20.

²⁹ Cf. J.-L. Fournet, «Appendice sur le nom d'Ἀφροδίτης κόμη», *REG* 105 (1992) 235-236. Voir aussi Gignac (n. 1) 2:23, pour des noms communs de la 2^e déclinaison qui subissent une évolution semblable.

³⁰ Cf. ci-dessous, p. 134.

³¹ Athanase d'Alexandrie, *Apologie contre les Ariens* 71.6.

³² Georges de Chypre 704 (ed. Gelzer).



P.Mich. inv. 1371 + 1368a

distance l'un de l'autre. Un village homonyme,³³ probablement de très petite taille, est attesté au Fayoum dans trois papyrus d'époque ptolémaïque ; comme il apparaît parfois côte à côte avec des villages de la *méris* de Hérakleidès,³⁴ ce village devait sûrement être plus proche – mais non forcément voisin – de Philadelphie que la ville d'Héliopolis; même s'il n'est pas autrement attesté à l'époque romaine, c'est sans doute l'endroit où résidaient Aïôn et Antoninus. Ajoutons que ce dernier se distingue apparemment, par son origine, d'Antoninus de Ψιγεστώ (localité par ailleurs inconnue), auquel Paniskos confie par ailleurs un talent, à transmettre à sa femme.³⁵ — Pour l'aoriste ἐγενάμην, cf. Gignac (n. 1) 2:344; Mandilaras (n. 1) 154, § 318 (1).

8 Pour ἀτοῦς au lieu de αὐτούς cf. Gignac (n. 1) 1:227.

9 Pour la confusion entre οἱ et υ dans πνεῖτε, cf. Gignac (n. 1) 1:197-198. — Le sens de la phrase est difficile à comprendre, notamment en raison de l'absence d'un complément direct pour le verbe ποιεῖν: il est peu probable qu'il soit employé de manière absolue («vous agissez envers [οὐ contre] eux»).³⁶ Sans doute vaut-il mieux sous-entendre comme complément un mot perdu dans les lignes qui précèdent («vous (le) faites envers [οὐ contre] eux»); dans le contexte de cette lettre, il faut peut-être songer à (ἀ)θίαν ποιεῖν, «avoir une dispute» (cf. l. 16; 26).³⁷ Antoninus, qui a été dans le village où se trouve Ploutogénia, confirme-t-il le problème dont elle se plaint apparemment, ou a-t-il constaté une situation telle qu'il pourrait en rencontrer dans sa propre famille, parmi les siens, une situation à laquelle il ne faudrait peut-être pas accorder

³³ Sur le remploi de toponymes existants pour les villages du Fayoum, et notamment de noms de cités du Delta dans la *méris* d'Hérakleidès, voir W. Clarysse, «Toponymy of Fayyum Villages in the Ptolemaic Period,» *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum* (Galatina 2007) 74-75.

³⁴ *P.Count.* 12.73 (243-217 av. J.-Chr.), avec le commentaire, p. 272-273 ; pour l'attribution de cette Héliopolis à la *méris* d'Hérakleidès, non à celle de Thémistos, voir Clarysse (n. 33) 75, n. 17, et la note du même auteur, datée d'août 2007, sur le site du *Fayum Villages Project* de la K.U.Leuven <http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/760.php?geo_id=760/>, qui signale également une mention du village dans un P.Petrie inédit. — Je tiens à remercier W. Clarysse pour avoir attiré mon attention sur l'existence de ce village.

³⁵ *P.Mich.* 3.216.17-18; 217.25-26.

³⁶ Cf. peut-être *P.Oxy.* 7.1066.8 (III^e s. apr. J.-Chr.), où πρὸς signifie cependant «conformément à.»

³⁷ L'expression est le plus souvent suivie de la préposition μετά, mais l'on trouve aussi πρὸς: cf. p.ex. *Pland.* 6.96.10 (III^e s. apr. J.-Chr.: βλέπετε δὲ μὴ π[ο]ιήσητε ἀθίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους); *UPZ* 1.72.6-9 (152 av. J.-Chr.: περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ πρὸς σὲ | τὴν ἀθείαν ποιήσαντος).

trop d'importance? Il est tentant de s'étonner de voir réunis Paniskos (σύ) et les proches d'Antoninus (καὶ οἱ ἐμοί), et d'imaginer que Paniskos, ou le scribe qui écrit cette lettre pour lui, s'est trompé dans l'emploi des pronoms personnels et possessifs, mélangeant discours direct et indirect. Dans ce cas, le sujet de ποιεῖτε à la l. 9 pourrait être Ploutogénia (σύ) et la famille ou les proches de Paniskos (καὶ οἱ ἐμοί), avec qui elle vivrait, mais ne s'entendrait peut-être pas. Quant à ἀ(ὐ)τοῖς, je ne sais quelles tierces personnes il désignerait (Antoninus et d'autres?) – à moins d'y voir un pronom réfléchi ἀ(ὐ)τοῖς utilisé en lieu et place du réciproque ἀλλήλους,³⁸ au risque d'accumuler les corrections pour une phrase au sens incertain.

10-11 Il paraît difficile de rattacher la relative introduite par ὅσον à οὐδέν pour comprendre «de tout ce que tu fais, je ne supporte rien jusqu'à ce que tu reviennes.» Dès lors, il me semble que cette relative à l'éventuel, sans antécédent dans la principale, ne peut guère exprimer qu'une concession, même si je n'ai pas trouvé de parallèles pour cet emploi. Une alternative au texte proposé ici serait, comme me l'a suggéré J.-L. Fournet, de rattacher οὐδέν au verbe de la relative et de comprendre «tant que tu ne fais rien, je patiente jusqu'à ce que tu viennes.»

11 Pour le passage de ε à ι devant nasale, cf. Gignac (n. 1) 1:250. — Pour ὡς au lieu de ἔως, cf. LSJ, p. 2038, s.v., § Ad2; Gignac (n. 1) 1:305, n. 3, qui signale que ce sens se développe en grec médiéval.

13 Pour le passage de ο à ε, notamment en syllabe non accentuée devant un -ς final, cf. Gignac (n. 1) 1:289-290.

14 Pour ἦ au lieu de εἰ, cf. Gignac (n. 1) 1:240. On pourrait même être tenté de corriger en ἦ(ν) (pour ἐάν) et de reconnaître ἔχης plutôt que ἔχεις dans la forme ἔχῃς, tant la tournure éventuelle est attendue avant l'impératif de la principale. Cependant, le scribe emploie plutôt ἄν dans ce cas (l. 12; 19).

14-16 Comparer *P.Mich.* 3.219+215.8, où, en s'adressant à son frère Aïōn, mais en parlant de sa fille plutôt que de sa femme, Paniskos dit: ἦ τινος χρίαν ἔχει δὸς αὐτῇ («si elle a besoin de quelque chose, donne-le-lui»). Parallèlement, en *P.Mich.* 3.218.4-5, il demande à sa femme, juste avant de mentionner la possibilité d'une aide de son frère: θέλω ἰδῖν ἦ τινος χρίαν ἔχῃς («je veux savoir si tu as besoin de quelque chose»). Ces deux parallèles confirment que

³⁸ Sur cet emploi, cf. Mayser (n. 1) 1.2:64; Gignac (n. 1) 2:170-171 (ce dernier doute cependant que la forme contractée du réfléchi ait réellement encore été utilisée dans l'Égypte romaine, préférant y voir des emplois erronés du pronom personnel non-réfléchi αὐτός, lequel ne peut guère avoir été utilisé pour ἀλλήλους).

le sujet de l'impératif δότω ne peut être que le frère de Paniskos, Aïôn ([ἀ]-δελφ[ό]ν, avec confusion entre accusatif et nominatif, en plus de l'omission de l'article). Le nom de ce dernier est ici orthographié Ἀγίων, avec insertion d'un γ représentant la semi-voyelle [j].³⁹

16 Le mot αδιαν, qui apparaît aussi à la l. 26, pose problème: phonétiquement, la solution la plus simple serait d'y voir l'accusatif de ἄδεια («la sécurité, la liberté de faire quelque chose»), mais ce mot ne s'emploie guère comme complément du verbe ποιέω et est rare avant l'époque byzantine;⁴⁰ surtout, il ne permet pas de donner un sens satisfaisant aux deux passages concernés. C'est pourquoi il vaut mieux reconnaître ici une forme du nom ἀηδία, avec omission du η, comme en *P.Oxy.* 48.3397:⁴¹ ἀηδίαν ποιεῖν, «avoir une dispute,» est une expression bien attestée dans les papyrus,⁴² qui n'est nullement surprenante dans le contexte présent, au vu des plaintes que Ploutogénia a adressées à Paniskos avant cette lettre-ci et de la difficulté de leurs relations, illustrée par l'ensemble du dossier. — Notons que σοι pourrait aussi être une erreur pour σύ, auquel cas la phrase pourrait avoir un ton de reproche envers Ploutogenia.

18 L'espace entre le υ et le τ de αὐτῶν est fort important – mais tel est également le cas dans πέπαντ[αι] à la l. 23 – et le sommet de l'α de αὐτῶν peut faire penser à un ε, mais le pronom semble être la seule lecture satisfaisante. Son antécédent ne peut être déterminé en raison des lacunes du texte.

19 Plusieurs lettres de Paniskos font référence à un seul dieu, soit, comme ici, pour s'en remettre à sa volonté,⁴³ soit dans les formules de vœux initiales;⁴⁴ un autre de ses courriers utilise par contre, à deux reprises, le pluriel

³⁹ Cf. Gignac (n. 1) 1:72. — La même forme apparaît peut-être en *P.Oxy.* 24.2421.8 (début du IV^e s.): Ἀτοῦς γυνὴ Ἀγίωνος. Quant à *SB* 1.1654, urne funéraire d'un homme d'Itanos, où Fr. Preisigke (*WB*, s.v.) proposait de reconnaître Ἀγίων, P.M. Fraser propose désormais d'y lire Ἄγων, nom mieux attesté en Crète: cf. *LGPn* 1, s.v.

⁴⁰ Le mot ἄδεια n'est attesté que dans deux papyrus d'époque romaine, l'un émanant d'un préfet d'Égypte (*P.Oxy.* 1.34.3.4 = *M.Chr.* 188.3.4, de 127), l'autre des instances de la cité d'Antinopolis (*P.Oxy.* 8.1119.17 = *W.Chr.* 397.17, de 253); ce n'est qu'à l'époque byzantine qu'il se banalisera dans la documentation papyrologique.

⁴¹ *P.Oxy.* 48.3397.5-6 (IV^e s.): μὰ τὸν γὰρ Θεὸν (l. Θεὸν) καθ' ἑκάστην ποιῶ μεγάλην | ἀ(η)δίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀπαιτητῶν τοῦτου χάριν: «Par Dieu, j'ai chaque jour une grande dispute avec les collecteurs pour cela.»

⁴² Outre le texte cité à la note précédente, cf. *UPZ* 1.72.8 (152 av. J.-Chr.); *P.Mich.* 3.204.5 (127?); 8.514.17 (III^e s.); *P.Iand.* 6.96.10 (III^e s.); *P.Oxy.* 59.3999.8 (IV^e s.).

⁴³ *P.Mich.* 3.218.12 (ἵνα ὁ θεὸς θέλῃ); 219.4-5 (θεοῦ θέλον[|] [τος]).

⁴⁴ *P.Mich.* 3.216.l. 6; 219.3; 221.4.

θεοί.⁴⁵ Différentes hypothèses ont été émises sur la religion de Paniskos et ses éventuels revirements.⁴⁶ F. Farid a proposé d'attribuer ces variations uniquement aux changements de scribes.⁴⁷ Cependant, l'emploi du singulier n'est pas limité aux Chrétiens, puisqu'il suit parfois une invocation à un dieu païen.⁴⁸ Le présent texte n'apporte pas d'élément nouveau et force est de reconnaître que nous ne savons pas en quel(s) dieu(x) Paniskos croyait; tout au plus peut-on remarquer, sur le plan de la grammaire, qu'il est le premier à employer le subjonctif aoriste dans cette tournure, ce qui n'est sans doute pas très heureux du point de vue aspectuel.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *P.Mich.* 3.214.6;14.

⁴⁶ Cf. notamment G. Ghedini, «Paganesimo e cristianesimo nelle lettere papiracee greche dei primi secoli d.Cr.», *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milano 1936) 39; Zilliacus (n. 1) 27-28; W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie* (Paris 1946) 150-151; A. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto. Lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II-IV* (Firenze 1998²) 110-111. — Comparer le rapport préliminaire, rédigé par H.I. Bell en juillet 1923, et désormais disponible sur le site de la collection de l'University of Michigan:

«Packet III consists of miscellaneous papyri. At least one Coptic and several of the Greek papyri come from the Meletian archive acquired by the British Museum last year, and are distinctly interesting. It is obviously desirable that these should be secured; one actually completes a B. M. papyrus. Others (Greek) come from a find made at Darb el Gerza (Philadelphia) and consist chiefly of documents of the reign of Diocletian and his immediate successors.

Packet IV is also miscellaneous. A considerable portion of it consists of papyri from the Gerza Diocletian archive; these include a very interesting set of letters of the household of a certain Paniscus, at one time a Christian but in one letter (either before conversion or after relapse during the Persecution) a Pagan.»

Même s'il y a dans la collection du Michigan quelques autres papyrus qui proviennent de Philadelphie et qui sont contemporains de ceux de Paniskos (*SB* 12.10982 = inv. 1352; 14.11386 = inv. 1353; *P.Mich.* inv. 1354, ined.; *P.Mich.* 11.622 = inv. 1370), je ne crois pas qu'ils constituent une extension de la présente archive. Je tiens à remercier N. Litinas pour les renseignements qu'il m'a donnés à ce sujet.

⁴⁷ Cf. notamment F. Farid, «Paniskos: Christian or Pagan? (*P. Mich.* III, 214-221),» *MPhL* 2 (1977) 109-117.

⁴⁸ Cf. J. Rowlandson et al., *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge 1998) 148; M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Turnhout 2006) 109-113.

⁴⁹ Le subjonctif présent est de règle: cf. notamment *P.Bas.* 18.9 (I^{er} s. av. J.-Chr./ I^{er} s. apr. J.-Chr.); *SB* 6.9636.5 (Karanis, 135-6); *P.Mich.* 8.473.22 (début du II^e s.); *P.Oxy.* 3.531.7 (II^e s.); *P.David* 14.28 (II^e s.?): *P.Mich.* 8.514.15 (III^e s.); *P.Giss.Univ.* 3.30.24 (III/IV^e s.); *P.Lond.* 6.1918.17 (ca. 330-340); *P.Ammon* 1.3.4.9; 28 (348?); *P.Abinn.* 35.32 (milieu du IV^e s.); *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.10.24 (IV/V^e s.); 5.11.frg.1.8 (VIII^e s.).

19-20 Pour le remplacement des désinences de l'aoriste thématique de λαμβάνω par celles de l'aoriste sigmatique, cf. Gignac (n. 1) 2:336; 341-342. Pour l'emploi de ce temps avec valeur de futur, cf. Zilliacus (n. 1) 44-45; Mandilaras (n. 1) 168-169, § 350-351; comparer p. ex. *P.Mich.* 8.514.15 (III^e s.; Καὶ ἥν ὁ θεὸς θέλη κατέλαβ[ά] σε); *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.3.10 (III^e s.; τοῦ θεοῦ {θεοῦ} θέλοντος τάχα κἀγὼ ἐν τάχι σε κατέλα[β]α).

20 Τάχι[στα, qui est tentant au vu de la longueur de la lacune, semble être exclu par la présence d'une trace d'encre à droite du χ, qui ne descend pas sous la ligne d'écriture comme on l'attendrait pour un iota; ταχέ[ως paraît improbable pour la même raison; τάχα est possible, mais laisse une lacune d'environ quatre lettres.

21 Hermias, frère de Ploutogénia, est connu par *P.Mich.* 3.214.35, où il salue sa soeur depuis Coptos, et surtout par *P.Mich.* 3.220.18-27, où Paniskos explique qu'à la différence de la plupart de leurs collègues, il accompagne le préfet au lieu de les rejoindre dans le camp du *corrector* Achilleus.

21-22 Le verbe νωθραίνω, doublet de νωθρεύω, est mal attesté: le LSJ ne connaît que son parfait passif νενώθραντε (l. -ται) dans un papyrus d'Oxyrhynchus,⁵⁰ même si son participe présent apparaît chez Hésychius.⁵¹ La forme exacte qu'il prend ici pose cependant problème, notamment parce qu'il est difficile, juste avant la lacune, de déterminer si le scribe a corrigé un τ en θ, ou l'inverse. Le plus tentant serait de supposer que l'on a ici, à nouveau, le même parfait passif, νενώθραντ[αι (avec τ corrigé de θ); cependant, il paraît peu probable que la ligne ait commencé par une finale -πτο, qui ne pourrait appartenir qu'à un plus-que-parfait (p. ex. ἐγέγρα[ι]πτο), difficile à relier à ce qui précède: à la l. 21, le verbe γίγνομαι appelle, comme aux l. 7-8, un complément de lieu, et la résolution [εἰς Κό][πτον s'impose d'elle-même, en raison de la longueur de la lacune et parce que Paniskos mentionne plusieurs fois la ville dans ses lettres. On remarquera d'ailleurs que Paniskos n'utilise pas ἐνθάδε, et qu'il n'est donc sans doute pas à Coptos au moment où il écrit la présente lettre. À moins de supposer un parfait <ν>ενώθραντ[αι (avec haplographie, en plus de la correction de la dernière lettre préservée), il reste, à la l. 21, ἐνωθρανθ[plutôt que ἐνωθραντ[(avec correction de τ en θ, non l'inverse): je propose

⁵⁰ *P.Oxy.* 31.2609.4-9 (IV^e s.): εἰδένε σε θέλω ὅτι || μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεῖν σε | ὁ υἱός μου Ἑλενος νε|νώθραντε ὀλίγας | ἡμέρας. Καὶ ἤδη [σ]ὺ[ν Θεῷ] ᾧ ἐπαύσατο: «Je veux que tu saches qu'après ton départ, mon fils Hélénoa a été malade quelques jours. Désormais, avec Dieu, il a cessé de l'être.»

⁵¹ Hésychius γ 729 (ed. Latte): γυνπτῶν · νωθραίνων. Je dois cette référence, parmi d'autres, au lecteur anonyme du *BASP*.

d'y reconnaître un indicatif aoriste passif ἐνωθράνθη, jusqu'ici non attesté. Était-il réellement utilisé, ou le scribe a-t-il voulu écrire un parfait, constaté son erreur au début du mot et créé un aoriste en corrigeant la finale?

23 Paniskos s'empresse de rassurer Ploutogénia sur l'état d'Hermias, aussitôt après avoir dit qu'il a été malade: cf. p. ex. *P.Oxy.* 10.1299.5-6 (IV^e s.): ἀπὸ τοῦ νέω ἔτους πολλὰ ἐνοσοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ εὐχαριστῶ[μ]εν τῷ θεῷ ὅτι ἐπαυμένην (lire πεπαυμένοι) ἐσμέ(ν): «depuis le nouvel an, nous avons été fort malades, mais nous remercions Dieu d'avoir cessé de l'être.»⁵²

23-24 Comprendre [... μη]|κέτι ἐλθέτω μ[est la solution la plus simple, qui pourrait être connectée avec le complément d'origine, à la l. 25; cependant, on voit mal à qui s'adresserait cet impératif, Hermias étant clairement exclu puisque Ploutogénia serait bien en peine de lui transmettre un tel ordre. Une alternative est de couper e.g. [ἀλλ' οὐ]|κέτι ἔλθε (pour ἦλθε⁵³) τῷ μ[; sans doute convient-il alors d'insérer une ponctuation entre le verbe et l'article.

25 Lire sans doute ἀπὸ τῆς μητρ[ός, suivi d'un possessif (σου ou ὑμῶν plutôt que μου); en effet, ἀπὸ τῆς μητρ[οπόλεως n'apparaît guère que dans les désignations officielles des habitants des métropoles.

26 Pour ἀδιαν = ἀηδιαν, cf. l. 16. — Pour le verbe, la personne est incertaine, même si la 1^e du singulier est tentante.

27 Pour οἶδας, forme standardisée qui remplace régulièrement οἶσθα, cf. Gignac (n. 1) 2:409; Mandilaras (n. 1) 83, § 135.

28 Les formes de l'omicron initial et du delta et de l'épsilon de δεῖ sont inhabituelles pour cette main, mais je n'ai pu trouver de lecture plus satisfaisante pour le début de cette ligne.

28-30 À la fin de ses lettres, Paniskos pense régulièrement à saluer tantôt sa fille,⁵⁴ tantôt sa belle-mère,⁵⁵ parfois les deux, comme ici.⁵⁶

31 Paniskos salue également Nonnos en *P.Mich.* 3.218.20; il devait s'agir d'un de ses hommes de confiance, puisque, lorsqu'il invite pour la première fois

⁵² Cf. encore *P.Neph.* 1.13 (IV^e s.); *P.Oxy.* 31.2609 (cf. note précédente).

⁵³ Pour l'omission de l'augment, cf. Gignac (n. 1) 2:234.

⁵⁴ *P.Mich.* 3.214.35; 218.2-3; 219.28-29.

⁵⁵ *P.Mich.* 3.217.19-20.

⁵⁶ *P.Mich.* 3.216.24-27: ἀσπάζομαι τὴν θυγατέρα ν || μου πολλὰ καὶ τὴν μητέ|ραν σου καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντας | ἡμᾶς κατ' ὄνομα: «j'embrasse ma fille bien fort, et ta mère, et pas tous ceux qui nous aiment, chacun par son nom.» Comme expliqué plus bas, je ne crois pas qu'il puisse en être de même en *P.Mich.* 3.219+215.27-28.

Ploutogénia à le rejoindre à Coptos, il lui recommande de le prendre comme compagnon de voyage (*P.Mich.* 3.214.29-30).

Verso. A. 1 De maigres traces d'encre survivent au dos des l. 1-2 du recto; il peut s'agir d'un accident, mais il n'est pas exclu que le texte même de la lettre ait débordé jusqu'ici, comme en *P.Mich.* 3.214.35.

B. 1-2 L'adresse devait comporter une première ligne, e.g. ἀπόδος Πλουτογενία παρὰ Πανίσκου; les maigres traces subsistantes pourraient correspondre à ce dernier mot, Παγίσκου. Dans ses autres lettres, sous le nom de Paniskos, on trouve apparemment des indications sur sa propre adresse, toutes de lecture plus ou moins incertaine.⁵⁷ Ce qui reste de la l. 3 pourrait aussi indiquer en quel endroit (un camp?) on pouvait le trouver, si l'on lit e.g. ἐν τῷ Φιλαδέλ[φου. Cependant, il est plus tentant, vu ce que nous savons de cette archive,⁵⁸ de reconnaître ici le nom du village où ce courrier devait être délivré, εἰς Φιλαδέλ[φια, information qui est fréquemment mentionnée au verso des lettres et qui est parfois rejetée à cet endroit.⁵⁹

Annexe - Notes sur d'autres lettres de Paniskos

1. *P.Mich.* 3.218

L. 5: lire εἰς Ἡλιοῦς, plutôt que εἰς Ἡλίου π(όλιν).⁶⁰

L. 7: lire ἀνηλώσης à la suite de J.G. Winter, plutôt que ἀναλώσης, comme l'avait proposé M. Naldini.⁶¹

L. 17: il me semble possible de lire [σ]υμβ[ί]οις ([. . .]υμ[.] σοῦ Winter; [ξενο]ύμ[ε]νος K.Fr.W. Schmidt (cf. *BL* 3:111): la boucle supérieure du β est bien reconnaissable, et il n'y avait sans doute pas place pour un autre mot à cette ligne); la dernière phrase devient ainsi «Sache que je t'écris comme un frère, non comme un mari» (συμβίου est mis pour un nominatif, de même qu'il remplace un datif à la l. 1 du même texte). Paniskos entend-il par là qu'il lui donne un conseil attentionné, non un ordre?

Verso, l. 1: lire πα(ρά) (noté πα/) au lieu de παρά.

⁵⁷ *P.Mich.* 3.218 verso.2 (ἐν τῷ Μοψαρίου, où le ω, en particulier, me paraît douteux); 216 verso.2 (ἐν τῷ Παρ[-]). — Pour le verso de *P.Mich.* 3.219 + 215 et de *P.Mich.* 3.220, voir l'annexe ci-dessous.

⁵⁸ Cf. ci-dessus, introduction.

⁵⁹ Cf. p. ex. *P.Neph.* 12.23 (IV^e s.); *P.Tebt.* 2.422.25 (III^e s.).

⁶⁰ Cf. ci-dessus, note à la l. 7.

⁶¹ Naldini (n. 46) 115.

2. P.Mich. 3.219+215 (+ inv. 2153a)

Cf. déjà Schwartz (n. 1) 110, pour le raccord entre *P.Mich.* 3.219 et 215. Deux nouveaux fragments, constituant le coin supérieur gauche de la lettre, ont été trouvés sous le numéro d'inv. 2153a.⁶² Ils confirment pour l'essentiel les lectures de J.G. Winter aux lignes 1-11 et complètent la ligne notée dans la marge gauche; dans le texte ci-dessous, les lettres figurant sur les nouveaux fragments sont soulignées. Vu l'ampleur des corrections proposées depuis l'édition originale, il me semble utile de reproduire ici l'ensemble du texte.

- Πανίσκος Ἀϊῶν[ι] τ[ῷ] ἀδελφ[ῶ]ι πολλὰ [χ(αίρειν)]
Πρὸ μὲν πάν[τ]ων εὐχομέ σε ὁ[λ]όκλη-
ρὸν {σε} ἀπολα[β]εῖν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ.
Γεινώσκιν ὑμᾶς θέλω ὅτι θεοῦ θέλον-
5 τος ὀλοκληροῦμεν. Καὶ ἐντέλλομέ σοι,
κύριε μου ἄδελφαι, πρόσσεχε τῇ θυγα-
τρί μου, καὶ ἡ τινος χρίαν ἔχει, δὸς αὐτῇ.
Μάλιστ[α] δὲ ἐπιτάξα[τε] αὐτῇ καὶ ἂν
ἀντιε[ί]πῃ ἡμῖν· ἀντ[ιγ]ράψατέ μοι καὶ
10 περὶ [Σε]ρήνου ἂν καλῶς πράξι καὶ
προ[σέ]χει τοῖς πρόβα[σιν]. Ἐπιμέλ[ε]τε
[δὲ σπου]δέως ἄλλω[ν . . .] . εἰ καὶ ο[ἷ]κα-
[δε καὶ ἔξω . .]γο[.] . ποιήσόν με
[ca. 20 lettres]εχ[ca. 9 lettres]σι[. . .]εσ
(une ou plusieurs lignes perdues)
15 [ca. 20 lettres μ]ητρὶ κα[ὶ]
[.]οῖς καὶ . . [.] . ξεν μι[. .]
. [. . . με]τρῆσω κἀγὼ [ἀ]ποδίδωμ[ι]
. [. . .]τας. Κ[αὶ] βοηθ[εῖ]τε καὶ ὑμε[ῖ]ς
[τῷ ἀδ]ελφῷ ἡμῶν Βασόειτι. Καὶ
20 μὴ ἀ[μ]ελήσης· ἀντί[γ]ραψόν μοι πε-
ρι τὴν [σ]ωτηρίαν ἡμῶν. Ἀσπάζο-
μαι Ἀτᾶν σὺν τέκνοις καὶ Κορνή-
λιν σὺν τέκνις καὶ τὴν σύμβιον αὐ[τῶν] . Ἰ[σ] (οὔ)
καὶ Οὐ[ενᾶ]φ[ρ]ιν σὺν τέκνοις καὶ τῇ συμ-
25 βίου κα[ὶ τὴν] μητέραν μου καὶ Ἄννι-
[λαν ca. 10 lettres] . [. . .]ου. Ἀσπάζομαι
[ca. 14 lettres] πολλὰ καὶ . [.] . δωρα

⁶² Malgré l'écart entre les numéros d'inventaire, P.Mich. inv. 2153a a bien été acquis en même temps que les autres pièces de l'archive de Paniskos et Ploutogénia.

[ca. 23 lettres] . τῇ σὺν
[τέκνοις - - -]

Dans la marge gauche:

30 καὶ Παῖσιν καὶ Ἀπίαν σὺν τέ[κνοις. Ἐρρῶσ]θαί σε εὐχομαι.
Φαρμο[ῦθι

Verso:

[- - -] X π(αρὰ) Παγ[ίσκου]
32 [- - -] X . εἰ[- - -]

2 εὐχομαι 4 γινώσκειν 5 ἐντέλλομαι 6 ἄδελφε 7 εἰ, χρεῖαν 8 ἐάν
9 ὑμῖν 10 ἐάν, πράξει 21 ὑμῶν 23 Κορνήλιον, τέκνοις; αὐ [.]^τ . pap.
25 μητέρα

«Paniskos à Aïôn, son frère, un grand salut. Avant tout, je prie devant le seigneur dieu de te retrouver en bonne santé. Je veux que vous sachiez que, par la volonté de dieu, nous sommes en bonne santé. Et je t'enjoins, monsieur mon frère, sois attentif à ma fille et, si elle a besoin de quelque chose, donne-le-lui. Surtout, faites-la obéir même si elle vous répond. Écrivez-moi aussi en retour au sujet de Serenus, (pour me dire) s'il va bien et s'il s'occupe du bétail. Occupez-vous avec zèle d'autres - - - à la maison [et à l'extérieur (?) - - -] fais [- - -] à (ma?) mère et [- - -] je (le?) verserai et moi, je (le?) rembourse - - - Et, vous aussi, aidez notre frère Basoeis. Et ne néglige pas (ceci): réponds-moi au sujet de votre santé. J'embrasse Atas avec ses enfants, Cornélius avec ses enfants et sa compagne, Ouénaphris avec ses enfants et sa compagne, ma mère et Annilla - - - J'embrasse - - - fortement et - - - (en marge:) et Paësis et Apia avec leurs enfants. Je prie pour ta santé. Pharmouthi . . »

1 On ne voit plus rien aujourd'hui du πολλὰ [χ(αίρειν)] que J. G. Winter avait pu lire à la fin de cette ligne.

6 [ὑπὲρ] ἐμοῦ Winter.

8 [πράω]ς Winter.

10 [με εὖ]φρηγον Winter, [περὶ Σε]ρῆνον S. Kapsomenos (cf. *BL* 4:54).

12 ἐπιτη]δέως Winter. Le banal σπουδαίως me paraît plus probable; il y avait peut-être une lettre (un v?) ajoutée au-dessus du ω. —]ψει Winter. — La fin de la ligne est fort incertaine.

13 Winter lisait Καλῶς ποιήσε[ις], mais la dernière lettre du verbe est plutôt un ν (tel celui qui termine la l. 8), ce qui suggère l'impératif ποιήσον, devant lequel on pourra restituer e.g. πᾶ]ν.

14-16 La lecture de ces lignes reste très incertaine.

17 Les traces de la lettre initiale permettent d'exclure l'ω des composés de χωρέω ; si le tau (déjà lu par J. G. Winter) est correct, με]τρήσω s'impose d'autant qu'il constitue pour ainsi dire un complément naturel d'ἀποδίδωμι, les deux verbes étant régulièrement employés ensemble dans les contrats de location de terres. La différence de temps est cependant gênante.

18-19 βοηθ[.]σε καὶ ὑμε[ι]ν | [καὶ ἀδ]ελφῶ ἡμῶν Πασόειτι Winter (Ἀσόειτι Schwartz, repris par *BL* 6:81). Βασόεις, dont le β me semble assuré puisque l'essentiel de la panse inférieure est conservé sous la cassure, doit être une variante, non attestée jusqu'à présent, de Πασόεις.⁶³ Le personnage n'est pas autrement connu.

22 Ἀσπάζο[μ]αι Ἀτᾶν K.R. Jones (cf. *BL* 11:131): Ἀσπάζο[μ]αι . . .]αν Winter, Ἀσπάζο[μ]αι Ἀπ[ι]αν Schwartz. Il n'y a pas assez de place pour la séquence π[ι]; en outre, une Atas est mentionnée dans la lettre que Ploutogénia envoie à sa mère d'Alexandrie (*P.Mich.* 3.221.9; 10): enfin, une Apia, dont nous ne savons rien d'autre, apparaît désormais au début de la note marginale de la présente lettre (l. 30).

27-28 Ἡ[λι]οδώραν Winter, mais la lecture ne me paraît pas acquise: la première lettre ressemble plutôt à un κ rapide (comme dans καί, l. 24), et le ν final manque. En outre, s'il est vrai que Paniskos termine souvent ses lettres en saluant sa fille et sa belle-mère, toutes deux nommées Héliodōra, le correspondant n'est pas le même ici: les deux Héliodōra, de même que Ploutogénia, ne font pas partie de l'entourage immédiat d'Aïōn, auquel Paniskos ne va sans doute pas demander de se déplacer à Philadelphia: la plupart des autres personnes mentionnées dans cette lettre-ci n'apparaissent d'ailleurs pas dans les autres textes de l'archive.

28] τέκν[Winter.

3. *P.Mich.* 3.214

L. 4: lire peut-être ὁλοκληρίαν plutôt que ὁλοκληρία(ν).

⁶³ Pour la confusion β/π, cf. Gignac (n. 1) 1:83-84.

4. P.Mich. 3.216

Aux lignes 27-29 et 31, J. G. Winter lisait le post-scriptum de Paniskos ainsi: καὶ ἔγραψάς μοι ὅτι ἦρκες εἴκοσι [τρι]ὰ ὄπλα, | Ταμμῶν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν. Ἐ[ά]τω | εἵμηνεν Τημνᾶς («And you wrote to me that you took twenty-(three?) shields; Tammon, none of them. Temnas has stayed below»). Tant Ταμμῶν que Τημνᾶς sont restés sans parallèles et me semblent devoir être relégués aux rangs des *ghost names*. Le premier est la fin d'un nom bien connu, Πλου|τάμμων, ce qui supprime au passage l'indice qui avait permis de supposer que Paniskos était peut-être un marchand d'armes plutôt qu'un soldat.⁶⁴ Le mot précédent, auquel se rapporte le chiffre εἴκοσι, est court et se termine par -ας; on peut songer, notamment, à [μν]ᾶς. C'est d'ailleurs ce terme que je proposerais de reconnaître aussi dans le Τημνᾶς lu par J.G. Winter à la l. 31, dans un contexte dont l'interprétation reste incertaine. Un peu avant, faut-il se risquer à reconnaître, à la fin de la l. 29, une forme de l'aoriste de φέρω, telle que ἤν[ε]γκε? Dans ce cas, il n'y a plus place pour αὐτῶν, mais pour αὐτῷ, et ce passage pourrait être compris ainsi: καὶ ἔγραψάς μοι ὅτι ἦρκες εἴκοσι [μν]ᾶς. Πλου|τάμμων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἤν[ε]γκε | εἰ μὴ πέντη μνᾶς, «Et tu m'as écrit que tu as emporté vingt mines(?). Ploutammōn ne lui a rien apporté(?) (ou: n'a rien pris pour lui?) si ce n'est cinq mines.»

5. P.Mich. 3.220

Les faibles traces de deux lignes, au verso, sont clairement à droite des traits marquant l'emplacement du sceau. Aussi est-il peu probable que ce soit le nom de la destinataire, Ploutogénia, comme le proposait l'éditeur (Πρ]οτ[ο]-γεν[ι] Winter): la première ligne doit avoir contenu, à cet endroit, le nom de l'expéditeur de la lettre, Paniskos; quant à la seconde, elle peut avoir présenté son adresse ou une information complémentaire sur l'endroit où la lettre devait être délivrée.⁶⁵ Ces traces ne sont de toute façon pas reconnaissables.

⁶⁴ Cf. P.Mich. 3, p. 275; 283; Zilliacus (n. 1) 12; Farid (n. 27) 109.

⁶⁵ Cf. la discussion du verso du papyrus publié ci-dessus.

A Cancellation of a Contract of Debt from Hermopolis¹

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Abstract

Edition of a sixth-century papyrus from Hermopolis recording the fulfillment and the invalidation (ἀκυρωσία) of a contract of at least three people, including an oil-seller and a member of the military. The papyrus offers evidence for economic activity in sixth-century Hermopolis as well as a number of uncommon or unique legal formulas.

P.Vindob. inv. G 13228 is among the papyri from Hermopolis now held by the Austrian National Library.² In this text, two parties, one of whom is an oil dealer, agree that a financial obligation has been discharged and that the contract governing that agreement is thus voided.³ This document, then, is the formal record of that invalidation, in which the oil-dealer appears to speak for both creditors. Much of the text has been lost to the top, bottom, and right sides, making a full reconstruction impossible.⁴

The text itself is written with the fibers and can be broadly dated by handwriting style to the sixth century AD. It offers a number of unparalleled legal formulas, especially that of the certification of invalidation (κυρία ή ἀκυρωσία). The document represents an opinion shared in Greek and Egyptian thought that a contract could be valid as long as it was intact. Aside from crossing out

¹ I am grateful to Austin Chapman and Taylor Coughlan for reading over my text, to my anonymous referees for their excellent insights, and especially to Peter van Minnen for his comments and suggestions.

² For the history and organization of the Vienna papyrus collection, see H. Loebenstein, "Vom 'Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer' zur Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (Vienna 1983) 3-13, 20-24.

³ Although there seem to be at least three people involved with the debt, this particular document features only two of them, with the second creditor spoken for by the first.

⁴ The appearance of the phrase ἐνεχούρου λόγῳ in line 2 suggests that the amount of text lost above the first remaining line is significant. The phrase tends to appear at least in the middle of texts (e.g., line 32 of BGU 17.2698 in the 7th century), which accords well with the amount of information we can tell is missing from this papyrus.

the original contract, the party holding the obligation could return the contract (ἀθέτησις) and could provide another document, an ἀκύρωσις, confirming the cancellation of the contract.⁵ This papyrus preserves the ἀκύρωσις agreement. It is also possible that the this document was drawn up because the original contract was lost or destroyed.⁶

Our inability to date this document more precisely does make interpretation more difficult. Legal procedure in the Empire underwent a significant shift between 529 and 534 with the release of the Justinianic Code. Before 538, the Mauri cavalrymen, mentioned in this document, were removed from their station at Hermopolis.⁷ The appearance of the Mauri in our text (and their disappearance from Hermopolis between 528 and 538) does not allow us to date this papyrus more precisely. Whomever the phrase describes could just as easily have maintained an economic interest after his own retirement or the unit's removal. While it is likely that the contract was written in the first half of the sixth century rather than the second, it is impossible at this time to determine the precise date or, for instance, under which legal code the contracting parties were operating.

P.Vindob. G 13.228

H x W = 16.5 x 6.5 cm

Hermopolis

First half of the sixth century AD

- - - - -		
.	[]
ἔξ [ῖσ]ου ἐνεχέρο[υ λόγῳ		νομισματίων]
δύο παρὰ κερά[τια]
νομισματίου ἐ[]
5 ὑποχρέου τα[		ἀριθμοῦ]
τῶν γενναιοτάτων Μ[αύρων]
τὸ αὐτό σου γραμμά[τιον]
μεθοδεύειν σε τὸν []
λογίσασθαι αὐτὸν εἰς [τὸ	γραμματίον]
10 καὶ μεθοδεύοντός [μου]

⁵ R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, 332 B.C.-640 A.D., 2nd ed. (Warsaw 1955) 419-421. For examples of canceled 6th century contracts with an oil-dealer, see F. Mitthof and A. Papathomas, "Das Archiv des ἐλαιουργός Sambas," *ZPE* 103 (1994), tables IV-VIII. See also Kaser, *Privatrecht* §148-149.

⁶ On the cancellation of missing or destroyed documents, see Taubenschlag (n. 5) 421, esp. n. 10.

⁷ SB 16.12488 (AD 538, Hermopolite nome) notes that the Mauri were πρότερον ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει.

	ζητήσαντός σου ανα[	οὐκ ἐδυνή-]
	θην τοῦτο ἀγαδοῦνα[ί σοι]
	τοῦτο. Ὁμολογῶ πεπληρ[ῶσθαι παρὰ σοῦ]
	κάκεινον δὲ πεπληρ[ῶσθαι]
15	εἰς τὸ εἰρημένον γραμ[μάτιον	ἄκυρον καὶ]
	ἀνίσχυρον αὐτὸ εἶναι [	πανταχοῦ ἐπι-]
	φερόμενον διὰ τὸ μὴ [εἶναι]
	χρέος. κυρία ἢ ἄκυρ[ωσία (m.2)]
	υἱὸς[ς]ς ἐλεοπράτ[ης	πεποίημαι ταύτην]
20	τὴν[ἄκυρω]σίαν κα[ὶ	καὶ πείθο-]
	μα[ὶ πᾶσι ὡς π]ρόκειται []
	- - - - -	

Verso

[ἀκυρῶσια γε]γαμέν(η) εἰς τὸν κύρ(ιον) Φιλόξενον υἱὸν [- - -]

5 ὑποχρεῦ 16 ἀνίσχυρον 19 ἐλαιοπράτης 21 πρόκειται Verso κυρ/

“... equally, by way of security, ... two *solidi* minus *x keratia* ... of a *solidus* ... (so-and-so) owing a debt ... (so-and-so, one of the *numerus*) of the most noble Mauri ... the same note (of debt) of yours ... I collected from you as payment *x* ... (and) I reckoned *x* towards the (same) note ... with me collecting payment ... (and) you seeking after (the note) ... I was unable to hand it over to you ... this. I agree that I have been repaid in full by you ... and that he too has been repaid in full ... for the aforementioned note ... that it is without force and powerless ..., wherever it is brought forward, on account of there no (longer) being a debt. The invalidation is valid.

I, (so-and-so), son of (so-and-so), the oil-dealer ..., made this invalidation ... and I comply with all things as mentioned above.

(Verso) The cancellation made for the lord Philoxenos, son of (so-and-so) ...”

5 ὑποχρεῦ: This is only the fourth appearance of either ὑπόχρεος or ὑπόχρεως after AD 318.⁸ The use throughout this contract of rarely attested language may stem simply from our lack of similar documents from Hermopolis rather than scribal innovation.

⁸ For the others, see *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67022 (VI AD, Antinoopolis?), *P.Oxy.* 63.4395 (AD 499, Alexandria), and *SB* 18.13950 (VI-VII AD, Oxyrhynchite nome).

6 Troops were stationed in Hermopolis itself from the 4th century and are attested as landowners and active participants in the local economy.⁹ This is not surprising as the Moors garrisoning Hermopolis were, for the most part, Hermopolitans.¹⁰ Of the fifteen appearances of this phrase (τῶν γενναιοτάτων) in Hermopolis, eleven mention the Mauri specifically, and the other four only list “soldiers.”¹¹ A unit of Mauri heavy cavalymen was stationed in Hermopolis from at least AD 339 until some point before 538.¹²

8 The meaning of μεθοδεύειν is “to collect payment” or more forcefully, “to exact payment.” The loss of the debtor’s security mentioned in line 9 may point to the debt collection not being entirely smooth.

9 αὐτόν most likely refers not to a creditor or debtor, but to the object held as security. As this appears to be the case with τὸν in line 8 as well, it seems that the (masculine) object given as security was turned over, for whatever reason, to the creditors as part of the repayment.

11 ζητήσαντός: As this is a genitive absolute construction, σου is most likely the subject of this participle.¹³ The tense of this participle is especially interesting. While only parts of the lines remain, the use of different tenses in lines 8 through 13 enables us to reconstruct something of the timeline leading up to this contract. The creditor collects payment (line 8), having previously seized the security for payment (line 9). Now, collecting payment (10), the creditor notes that, previously, the debtor sought the return of the original contract (11), knowing that there were at least two creditors. The creditor represented here was unable to find it (12), necessitating the additional guarantees of safety from prosecution available from the ἀκύρωσις, which is drawn up now in the present (13).

13 Ὁμολογῶ: The large dot in the center of the first omicron may have been made by the scribe to mark the beginning point of this section when laying out the papyrus.¹⁴

⁹ For the Mauri, see J.G. Keenan, “Soldier and Civilian in Byzantine Hermopolis,” *Pap.Cong.XX* (1994) 444-451.

¹⁰ Keenan (n. 10) 444.

¹¹ On the reconstruction, see N. Gonis, “Notes on Miscellaneous Documents,” *ZPE* 159 (2007) 272.

¹² F. Mitthof, “Das Dioskoros-Archiv und die militärischen Reformen Justinians in der Thebais,” in *Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité*, ed. J.-L. Fournet (Paris 2008) 249.

¹³ See, for instance, *P.Oxy.* 45.3264 (AD 80/1) or *P.Oxy.* 49.3467 (AD 98).

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden 1990) 112-113.

16 Though the ἀκύρωσις could stand as a defense in court against claims of non-payment, the debtor also wanted to receive back any contracts kept by the creditor, such as the note of debt signed by the debtor (τὸ αὐτό σου γραμμάτιον), as mentioned first in line 7.

18 κυρία ἢ ἀκυρ[ωσία : This formula is otherwise unattested. Neither ἀκύρωσις nor ἀκυρώσια appears otherwise in the nominative form. The more common formula (παρὰ σοῦ εἰς ἀθέτησιν καὶ ἀκύρωσιν *vel sim.*) appears only twice after AD 225, in texts from Hermopolis.¹⁵ The change in hand reflects the change from a scribe writing the official text to our creditor *cum* oil-dealer agreeing to the text written in his name.

19 ἐλεοπράτης: The oil-trade in Hermopolis was a busy one and is attested throughout the Roman period.¹⁶ The most common term for oil-dealers is ἐλαιουργοί, who also produced a range of oil and oil products.¹⁷ Though the oil business was far from a guaranteed success, our unnamed oil-dealer was secure enough in his position to offer loans. Indeed, the oil-dealers of Hermopolis in the 7th century are recorded elsewhere making a donation of 10 *solidi*.¹⁸ The term ἐλαιοπράτης itself appears quite late – 39 of 45 references in papyri date to the 7th and 8th centuries AD. The earliest use of the word dates to the 3rd century, but it seems to have entered a sharp ascendancy during the 6th century.¹⁹ The increased use of the word does not seem to have come at

¹⁵ CPR 1.9 (AD 271/2) and *P.Stras.* 9.817 (4th century AD), the latter with the formula reversed. For the formula, see A.B. Schwarz, *Die öffentliche und private Urkunde im römischen Ägypten* (Leipzig 1920) 117.

¹⁶ On the price of oil and papyri documenting the oil-trade, see H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians* (St. Katharinen 1991) 43-50. For the Byzantine period, the task is greatly aided by the tendency to list occupation or trade when lacking official or military titles, for which see J.G. Keenan, "The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 11 (1973) 51-52.

¹⁷ For a roughly contemporary archive of an ἐλαιουργός probably from the Fayyum, see Mitthof and Papathomas (n. 5) 53-84.

¹⁸ *P.Lond.* 3.1028 (7th century AD).

¹⁹ *P.Rein.* 1.51 (3rd century AD, Arsinoite), discussing θαυμαστοὶ ἐλαιοπράται. On the subject of seller endings, see L. Casarico, "Repertorio di nomi di mestieri. I sostantivi in -πώλης e -πράτης," *Stud.Pap.* 22 (1983) 23-27; H.-J. Drexhage, "Die Komposita mit -πώλης und -πράτης im hellenistischen Ägypten," *Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte* 10.2 (1991) 1-17; and H.-J. Drexhage, "Nochmals zu den Komposita mit -πώλης und -πράτης im hellenistischen Ägypten," *Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte* 20.1 (2001) 1-14. The tables in Drexhage are especially useful,

the cost of the ἐλαιουργός but rather ἐλαιοπώλης, which does not appear in papyri after the 6th century.²⁰

20 ἀκυρωσίαν: the appearance of this form of the word is much rarer than ἀκύρωσις. Of the six papyri (including this one) reading forms of ἀκυρωσία, five date to the 6th century, and the other to AD 450.²¹

21 πείθομαι πᾶσι ὡς πρόκειται: This is a relatively common phrase in fifth and sixth-century Hermopolis, and can appear in the subscription or the main text of a document.²²

Verso Φιλόξενον: The name Philoxenos appears in the sixth century in the Hermopolitan nome only five other times, three of which in a single context.²³ There is a possibility that at least one of these men may be a son or grandson of our Philoxenos.

- κύρ(ιον): While the use of *kyrios* appears to have been of particular concern both to Hermopolitans and residents of the Arsinoite nome in the Byzantine period, its use here reveals little about Philoxenos' rank or relation to the creditors.²⁴

and less focused on the Hellenistic period than might be assumed from the titles of the articles.

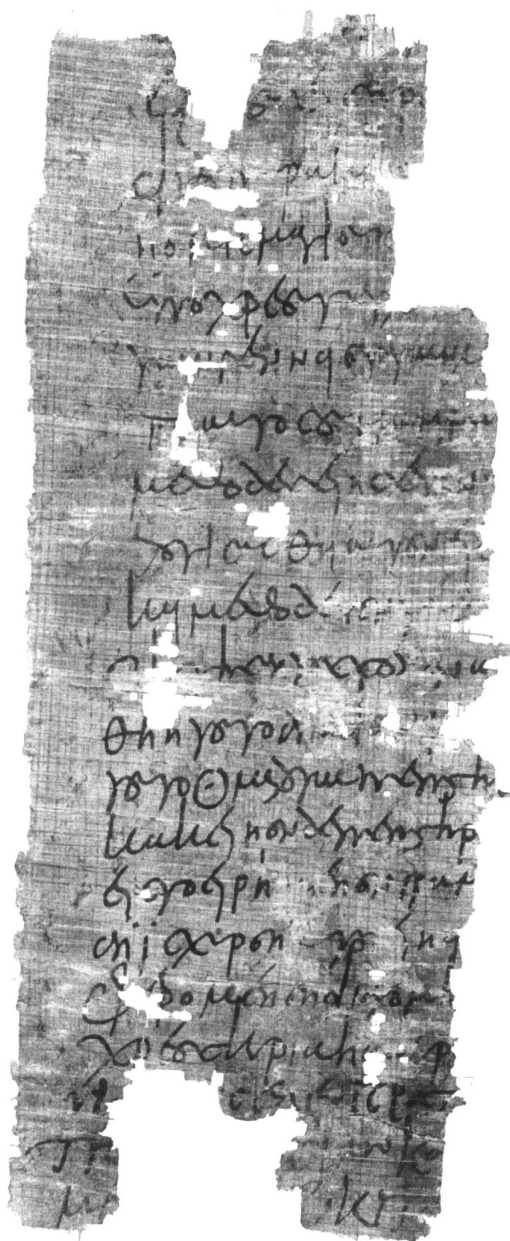
²⁰ Information gathered through the Papyrus Navigator and the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri.

²¹ 6th century AD: *PCair.Masp.* 2.67166, 2.67167, 3.67306, *PLond.* 5.1701; 5th century AD: *BGU* 3.944. The papyri are from Antinoopolis (2), Aphrodites Kome (2), and Heracleopolis, suggesting that the relatively minor use of this variant was spread throughout Egypt, apparently reaching Hermopolis as well.

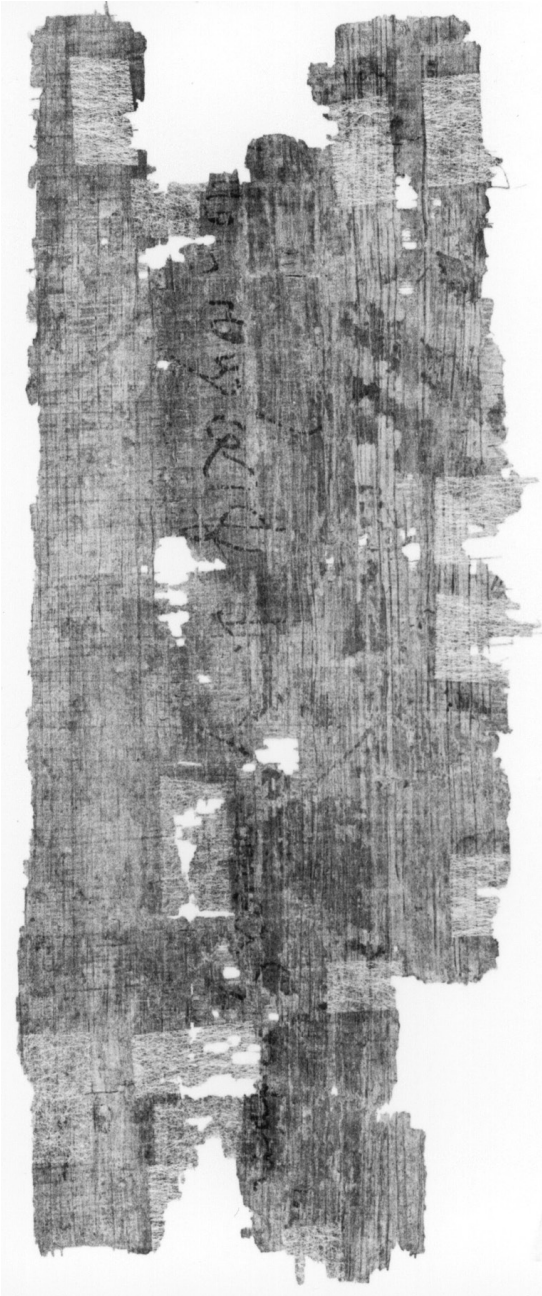
²² For an appearance in a similar situation as in the current text, see *BGU* 12.2168 (AD 497/8, Hermopolis).

²³ Three records of payments of wheat over three successive years by Phoibammon, son of Philoxenos, in Hermopolis (*PLond.* 5.1755, 1756, and 1756, dated to AD 584/5, 585/6, and 586/7, respectively), a population register from the 6th or 7th centuries AD recording a Kastor, son of Philoxenos, and a Philoxenos, son of Auxonios (*CPR* 7.28), and finally, a promissory note dated to the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century giving the name of Kosmas, son of the blessed Philoxenos (*Stud.Pal.* 3.150).

²⁴ B. Rom and H. Harrauer, "Ο κύριος-Listen auf Papyrus," *Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 113.



P.Vindob. inv. G 13.228 recto



P.Vindob. inv. G 13.228 verso

Receipt for *embole* from Aphroditō

James G. Keenan *Loyola University Chicago*

Abstract

Edition of P.Mich. inv. 3272, a nearly complete sixth-century receipt for *embole* from Aphroditō.

Aphroditō

H x W = 14 x 7.7 cm

Aphroditō, VI AD

The APIS entry by NL (= Nikos Litinas) aptly describes this piece as a tattered, dark-brown papyrus. Its top (1.2 cm), left (1 cm), and right (0.2 cm) margins are preserved in full, but the bottom has been lost. There is an apparent sheet join running vertically near the left edge. The papyrus itself is full of holes, which, fortunately, do not much impede the reading of its formulaic text. The hand is a medium-sized cursive recording the payment of three and 11/12 artabas of wheat for the *embole* of an eleventh indiction; further on the date, see the notes to lines 1-2 and 12. Although the place-name is absent, document type, nomenclature, and possible prosopographical links – for the last of which see again the notes to lines 1-2 and 12 – assure the Aphroditō provenance.

The papyrus was purchased from Maurice Nahman in 1925; it came to Michigan in October 1926 as a gift of Oscar and Richard H. Webber of Detroit. I am grateful to R. James Cook for arranging permission to publish this piece, to Nikos Litinas for identifying it as worthy of attention, to Todd Hickey for precise comments on the penultimate version of the text, and to the *BASP* readers for further helpful comments. Residual or new blemishes are mine. The image has been digitally reproduced by permission of the Papyrology Collection of the Graduate Library of the University of Michigan.

The receipt is written with the fibers on the recto; the verso is blank.

- 1 † δέδωκεν Ψιμανωβερ
 Κυρίου δ(ιὰ) τῶν κληρ(ονόμων) εἰς
 λόγον ἐμβολῆς
- 4 κανόνος ἐνδεκάτ(ης)
 ἰνδ(ικτίονος) σίτου ἀρτάβας
 τρῖς ἥμισυ τρίτον δω-
 δέκατον, γί(νονται) σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) γ ς γ' ὀ

- 8 μόν(αι) κανόν(ος). ἐξέδ[ω-]
 κεν τὴν ἀποχὴν
 ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). οἱ ἐνδοξ(ότατοι)
 πάγαρχ(οι) δι' ἐμοῦ
 12 Μαται τῷ[υ] βοηθοῦ,
 στοιχεῖ[ι] μοι τῶν
 ἀρταβῶν τρεῖς ἡμισυ
 [τρι]τῶν [δω]δέκ[α]τον
 — — — — —

2 κυριῷ δ, κληρ 4 ενδεκατς 5 ἱνδ, ἀρτάβας, first α perhaps corr.
 from = 7 γλ σ = 8 μονς κανονς 8-9 ἐξέδωκεν: ξ corr., read ἐξέδωκα or
 ἐξέδωκαν? See comm. note on 8-15 10 προκ//, ενδοξς 11 παγαρχς

“Psimanobet son of Kyrios has given through his heirs into the account of the *annona* for the *kanon* of the eleventh indiction three (and) a half (and) a third (and) a twelfth artabas of grain, equals 3 1/2, 1/3, 1/12 art. of gr(ain) only for the *kanon*. He has issued the receipt as aforesaid. The most glorious pagarchs through me, Matai, the assistant (*adiutor*): I approve [the receipt] for the three (and) a half (and) a third (and) a twelfth artabas [as aforesaid. ...]”

1-2 A Psimanobet son of Kyros (G. Ruffini, *A Prosopography of Byzantine Aphrodito* [Durham, NC, 2011] 514-515, s.v. Psimanobet 5) features in documents from the 520s into the 540s, including various payments recorded in *P.Aphrod.Reg.* (4th indiction, 525/6). It is tempting, despite the variant patronymic, to see him as identical with Psimanobet son of Kyrios of the present text. If so, our 11th indiction, with Psimanobet now deceased and represented by his heirs, can have been, at its theoretical earliest, 532/3; but the dating scheme worked out by C. Zuckerman (*Du village à l'empire* [Paris 2004] 32-34 and 47-50) has Psimanobet still alive in the 9th indiction of 545/6. This would place Psimanobet's death after 545/6 but before 547/8 and perhaps make that our 11th indiction year (see lines 4-5), but 562/3 is also theoretically possible if the payment was posthumously made in Psimanobet's name. See below, note on line 12.

8 κανόν(ος): seemingly redundant, and postponed from its expected position (contrast *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67286.18, γί(νονται) σίτ(ου) καν(όνος) (ἀρτάβαι)), but supportive of the notion that the word may define the artabas in question specifically as “*kanon*-artabas” or “artabas [reserved] for the *kanon*.” See J.-L. Fournet, “Le système des intermédiaires dans les reçus fiscaux byzantins et ses implications chronologiques sur le dossier de Dioscore d'Aphrodité,” *APF* 46 (2000) 233-247 at 237. It is tempting, following this suggestion, to

resolve the abbreviation here as κανον(ικαί), but there is for this no known precedent. The translation in its treatment of μόν(αι), which could be resolved as accusative if the total in ciphers were treated as a fully self-contained parenthesis ending right before it, attempts to convey this possible sense of line 8, including its ambiguity.

8-15 ἐξέδ[ω]κεν κτλ: the formulas seem confused, partly owing to the writer's variation between personal and impersonal point of view. I here accept the text as read and assume the third person singular is meant to have Matai as its implicit, though postponed, subject. I punctuate and translate accordingly, accepting ὡς πρόκ(εῖται) in line 10 as marking the end of its own short sentence. Notional correction to the first person singular with Matai as subject (cf. PSI 4.284.5, SB 24.15975.4) or to the third person plural with the pagarchs as subject may also be pondered (see app.crit. on lines 8-9). Editorial treatment of the Aphrodito receipts, particularly with respect to their punctuation, has been chronically inconsistent. A full review is needed.

12 Matai: a Matoï (Ruffini, *Prosopography* 367, s.v. Matoï 1) occurs as *boethos* in SB 20.15016 (payment for an 8th indiction), 15017 (payments for 6th, 7th, and 8th indictions), and *P.Lond.* 5.1666 (payment for an 8th indiction). Despite the orthographical variation, it is tempting to see Matoï ("soldier" in Coptic) as identical with Matai in our text. The *P.Lond.* payment is by the famous Apollos son of Dioskoros (Ruffini, *Prosopography* 56-64, s.v. Apollos 2; *P.Lond.* 1666 is reference bq on p. 63), and without intermediary (see Fournet, *art.cit.* in note on line 8). The *P.Lond.* payment by Apollos (died 546/7) has nevertheless been treated as (tacitly) posthumous and its 8th indiction equated with 559/60. This might help set the present receipt at 562/3, but would require a very long-lived Psimanobet (see above, note on lines 1-2).

13 στοιχεῖ(ῖ) μοι: the correction produces the standard formula and therefore seems preferable to the unparalleled στοιχ(εῖ) ἐμοί. What may look like an extra squiggle (and notice of abbreviation) in the lower right extension of *chi* is in fact the top loop of *beta* from line 14 (ἀτραβῶν).

14-15 These lines confirm that the writer treats the number and fractions as indeclinable; cf. lines 6-7.

15 The line after this (a lost line 16) probably continued ἡ ἀποχή ὡς πρόκ(εῖται) based on the verbal expectations raised by lines 9-10, though the resulting word order is, to my knowledge, unprecedented. Normally ἡ ἀποχή follows directly upon στοιχεῖ μοι. Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67135.7; 3.67326.17; 3.67327.12, 19, 35, etc. The date presumably came next.

Handwritten text on a dark, heavily damaged and stained piece of paper. The text is written in a cursive script, likely from the 18th or 19th century. The paper is torn and discolored, with significant white staining and missing sections of ink. The text is arranged in approximately 12 lines, though many characters are obscured by the damage. Legible fragments include words like "died", "born", "lived", "died", "born", "lived", "died", "born", "lived", "died", "born", "lived".

A Contract for the Advanced Sale of Wine

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Abstract

Edition of a sale of wine in advance from Byzantine Egypt (P.Vindob. inv. G 40267). Notable features include the guarantee clause and the supply of jars by the seller, both of which are put in a wider context.

The distribution of goods in antiquity took many forms, including reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange.¹ Within the latter category, goods could be sold by vendors at periodic or permanent markets, put up at auction, swapped through barter, or peddled by itinerant salesmen. In some cases, a sale could occur months before the products even became available. Papyrus texts preserving contracts for the advanced sale of goods provide our best evidence for this type of transaction.² Scholarship concerned with these documents has offered numerous important insights, including studies focused on prices,³ preserved formulae,⁴ economic issues,⁵ and legal questions.⁶ The goal of the

¹ I would like to thank Peter van Minnen for providing me with the opportunity to publish this papyrus text and for his numerous helpful suggestions as I prepared the manuscript. Bernhard Palme looked at the original in Vienna and has been of great assistance with several readings, particularly the text on the verso. Also, I thank two anonymous readers for their valuable comments and criticisms. Any errors that remain are my own.

² A list of contracts recording the advanced sale of goods was compiled by A. Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen von Arbeiten im späten griechischsprachigen Ägypten* (P.Heid. V) (Heidelberg 1990) 296-301, and later supplemented by N. Kruit, "Local Customs in the Formulas of Sales of Wine for Future Delivery," *ZPE* 94 (1992) 167-168. See also A. Jördens, "Kaufpreisstundungen (Sales on Credit)," *ZPE* 98 (1993) 263-282; N. Kruit, "Three Byzantine Sales for Future Delivery," *Tyche* 9 (1994) 67-88; S. Hodeček and F. Mitthof, "Ein Weinlieferungskauf aus dem Herakleopolites," *APF* 51 (2005) 76-86.

³ R.S. Bagnall, "Price in 'Sales on Delivery,'" *GRBS* 18 (1977) 85-96.

⁴ H. Harrauer, "Sechs byzantinische Weinkaufverträge aus dem Hermupolites," in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Florence 1980) 125-126; Jördens (n. 2, 1990) 301-331; Kruit (n. 2, 1992) 167-184.

⁵ F. Morelli, "Τιμή ε μισθός: vendita e prestazione di lavoro," *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli* 2 (1997) 7-29.

⁶ É. Jakab, "Guarantee and Jars in Sales of Wine on Delivery," *JJP* 29 (1999) 33-44; É. Jakab, *Risikomanagement beim Weinkauf: Periculum und Praxis im Imperium Roma-*

present paper is to offer an *editio princeps* of such a contract, currently housed in Vienna, which records the advanced sale of wine. The reading of the text is based on photographs of the original. Although wine contracts are among the most widely known and most widely discussed of the advanced sale agreements, this new example permits further reflections on select aspects of these documents. Following the edition and commentary of the text, I will discuss several points of interest that have not received sufficient attention thus far. These include the character of guarantee clauses concerned with the exchange of vinegar for wine and the supply of jars used to bottle the wine, from the buyer or the seller.

P.Vindob. inv. G 40267 H x W = 14.4 x 7.1 cm Arsinoite nome
VI/VII century CE(?)

The papyrus is rectangular with an unknown number of lines missing from the top. Fourteen lines of text are preserved on the recto, written along the fibers, and one line is visible on the verso, written along the fibres also. The left edge, although uneven and frayed, appears to preserve the beginning of each new line of text. A few centimeters from the left edge are a series of small holes running from top to bottom through lines 7 to 11. Near the right edge, a similar series of much larger holes also occurs suggesting that the papyrus was once folded into thirds. Most of the right third of the papyrus is missing, with one fragmentary section still in place in the center (lines 7 to 12).

No date is specified in the preserved text, nor are there any direct indications of provenance. Preserved formulae, which tend to be regional in character, do provide a means for suggesting an origin and possible date. One clause in particular is relevant for this text. N. Kruit notes that when wine is the item being sold in advance sale contracts, the agreement often describes which party will provide the jars.⁷ This clause typically reads σοῦ παρέχοντος τὰ κοῦφα, “with you providing the empty jars.”⁸ Contracts from the Arsinoite nome vary the word order in this formula, placing the participle παρέχοντος

num (Munich 2009); H.-A. Rupprecht, “Vertragliche Mischtypen in den Papyri,” in *Mneme G.A. Petropoulos*, vol. 2 (Athens 1984) 273–283 (*non vidi*); G. Thür, “Rechtsfragen des Weinkaufs,” in B. Kramer et al. (eds.), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) 967–975.

⁷ Kruit (n. 2, 1992) 169–170.

⁸ For instance, *P.Amst.* 1.48.15; *P.Col.* 8.245.17–18; *P.Flor.* 1.65.8–9; *P.Heid.* 5.358.6; *P.Mich.* 11.608.11; *P.Rein.* 2.102.6; *P.Stras.* 1.1.10; *P.Stras.* 7.696.2; *PSI* 10.1122.18–19; *SB* 16.12486.17–18; *SB* 16.12489.10 = *CPR* 9.25; *SB* 16.12639.18–19 = *SPP* 20.136; *SB* 16.13037.15; *SB* 18.13124.8; *SB* 22.15725.9.

after τὰ κοῦφα, also a feature of the text below.⁹ The use of χύμα as a unit of measure in the new contract is characteristic of the Arsinoite nome as well.¹⁰ The date is more difficult to surmise. Most contracts for the advanced sale of wine are assigned to the sixth or seventh century CE. Thus, it is likely that this text dates to that same period.

The text is written in cursive and slopes forward. For the top half of the papyrus (lines 1 to 8), the spacing is generous, with no attempt made to maximize the number of words per line. Beginning in line 9, more and more text is fitted into each line as space runs out. The hand changes several times in the contract, with one individual responsible for lines 1 to 11, a second for lines 12 to 13, and a third for line 14. Determining which hand wrote the single line on the verso is problematic given that only faint traces of letters survive. While identifiable letters do appear to resemble the first hand of the recto more so than the last two, specifically when considering the *epsilon*, *omicron*, and *kappa* visible in the first word on the verso, this is only speculative. An additional possibility is that a fourth hand was responsible for the verso.

- - - - -
 [- - - - - -περ]
 σοι ἂ[ποδώσω μηνί]
 Μεσορή χύματ[ι δικ(αίω)]
 ἔμοῦ τὰ κο(ῦ)φα [παρέχ(οντος)]
 ἐν τῷ ἐποικ[ίῳ ἀπὸ]
 5 ῥύσεως τῆς εἰ[σιο(ύσης)]
 τετάρτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος). [τὸ δὲ]
 ὄξος ἀλλάξω ἕως
 Τῦβι μη[ν]ὸς
 ἀναμφιβόλως ἐξ ὑπαρ-
 10 χόντων ἡμῶν πάν-
 των καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμο(λόγησα). †
 (m. 2) † Μηναῖ Γεωργίου ὁ π[ρο]κ(είμενος)
 στοιχεῖ μοι ὡς πρό[κειται].
 (m. 3) † di emu Mhna [eshm(ioth).]

⁹Jördens (n. 2, 1990) 324-325; Kruit (n. 2, 1992) 172. See *P.Lond.* 2.390.3; *SPP* 20.162.3 = *SPP* 3².141.3; *SPP* 3².125.5; *SPP* 3².135.7-8; *SPP* 3².205.3.

¹⁰Kruit (n. 2, 1992) 172. See *CPR* 14.4.11; *P.Lond.* 2.390.3; *SPP* 3.357.3; *SPP* 20.162.3 = *SPP* 3².141.3; *SPP* 3².163.4; *SPP* 3².205.3.

Verso

]ευνοκ() Ἀναστᾶσι(ν) αρ[.] . . . α

“... which I shall hand over to you in the month of Mesore in the exact quantity, with me supplying the empty jars, in the village from the yield of the present fourth indiction. I shall exchange vinegar (for wine) until the month of Tybi without ambiguity from all my possessions. (The agreement is valid) and, having been asked the formal question, I gave my assent.

I, Menas, son of Georgios, the aforementioned, deem it correct as written above.

Signed by me, Menas.

(*Verso*) ... of Anastasios ...”

1 σοῖ ἄ[ποδώσω μὴνι]. While only the faintest traces survive, this phrase occurs in most contracts for the advanced sale of wine, including *CPR* 14.4.10 and *P.Lond.* 2.390.3 from the Arsinoite nome. It is also possible to reconstruct [σοι ἀποδώσ]ω μὴνι in *SPP* 3.357.3, another of the Arsinoite contracts.

2 Μεσορὴ χύματ[ι δικαίω]. The adjective δικαίω often follows χύματι in Arsinoite contracts, including *P.Lond.* 2.390.3, *SPP* 3.357.3, and *SPP* 20.162.3, and can be reconstructed in the new contract. One exception, however, is *CPR* 14.4.11 where χύματι appears without δικαίω. Kruit suggests that χύμα δικαίον must represent a measure in these contracts rather than an indication of quality, since almost all other advanced sale contracts for wine contain a measure of some kind.¹¹ An Oxyrhynchite text, *T.Varie* 8.6, with the phrase οἴνου χυμάτων ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα ὀκτώ “168 *chymata* of wine,” provides corroborating evidence.¹²

3 ἐμοῦ τὰ κο(ῦ)φα [παρέχ(οντος)]. The word order of this phrase, with τὰ κοῦφα appearing before the participle παρέχοντος, adheres to the formula seen in contracts for the advanced sale of wine from the Arsinoite nome.¹³ Following τὰ κοῦφα, **however, there is only space for four to five additional letters**, suggesting that παρέχοντος was either abbreviated or omitted. Support for the former interpretation derives from two Arsinoite contracts, *SB* 1.4493.4 and *SPP* 3².135.7, which include the reading παρέχ(οντος). This formulaic word order observable in Arsinoite texts may have only ap-

¹¹ Kruit (n. 2, 1992), 172, n. 16. See also Jördens (n. 2, 1990) 319-320.

¹² N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, “Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquid in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt,” *APF* 45 (1999) 114.

¹³ See n. 9 above.

plied to wine contracts. *P.Harrauer* 59.33, a lease of a vineyard and a work contract from Arsinoiton Polis, preserves the clause ἐμοῦ παρέχοντος τὰ κοῦφα, which is the standard formula seen in other regions of Egypt.

Of additional interest in this clause is the use of ἐμοῦ, instead of the more common σοῦ, to indicate that the seller is responsible for supplying empty jars.¹⁴ Only a small number of published contracts mention the seller providing containers. *SB* 6.9294.14, from the Arsinoite nome, and *P.Vind.Sal.* 8.12, from the Hermopolite nome, preserve variants of the phrase ἐμοῦ τὰ κοῦφα παρέχοντος.¹⁵ In *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.39.4, the seller agrees to provide wine σὺν κούφοις “with empty jars,” while in *SB* 1.4504.22 with *BL* 9.239 and *SB* 1.4505.24 with *BL* 9.239, ἐν κούφοις, “in empty jars,” appears. *PSI* 12.1250.3 records ἐν κούφοις καινοκεράμοις, “in new empty jars,” and *PSI* 12.1249.27-28 employs the shortened variant ἐν καινοκεράμοις, “in new jars.” An additional document of interest is *SB* 16.12488.12, which contains the phrase πάντων κούφων παρεχομένων παρ’ ἐμοῦ, suggested by Έ. Jakab as a reference to the seller providing jars.¹⁶ Some caution may be necessary with this text, however, since most of πάντων κούφων παρεχομένων was reconstructed by the editor and παρ’ ἐμοῦ designates a location that may not be the provenance of the jars. The phrase παρ’ ἐμοῦ also appears in *CPR* 9.25.10, following the clause σοῦ παρέχοντος τὰ κοῦφα.

5 ῥύσεως τῆς εἰ[σιο(ύσης)]. Insufficient space in the missing portion of this line means εἰσιούσης would have been abbreviated. In addition, the initial *epsilon* of εἰσιούσης is difficult to read because only faint traces of letters survive in this part of the text. One possibility is that the letter actually was omitted and that the writer instead used the iotacistic spelling ἰσιούσης.¹⁷ Three texts from the Arsinoite nome, *BGU* 2.519.14, *BGU* 3.971.17, and *SB* 1.4786.4, preserve this alternate spelling.

6-8 [τὸ δὲ] / ὄξος ἀλλάξω ἔως / Τῦβι μη[ν]ός. The guarantee to exchange vinegar (ὄξος) for wine, as Jakab notes, only appears in some contracts for the advanced sale of wine.¹⁸ P.J. Sijpesteijn observes that most guarantees to exchange vinegar for wine ran for five months after the delivery date (usually

¹⁴ According to P. Mayerson, “A note on κοῦφα ‘empties,’” *BASP* 34 (1997) 47-48, 51, “empty jars” is the most suitable translation for κοῦφα.

¹⁵ The clause appears as παρέχοντός μου τὰ κοῦφα in *SB* 6.9294.14 and as ἐμοῦ παρέχοντος τὰ αὐτάρκη κοῦφα in *P.Vind.Sal.* 8.12.

¹⁶ Jakab (n. 6, 1999) 40.

¹⁷ I thank one of the anonymous readers for making this suggestion.

¹⁸ Jakab (n. 6, 1999) 39-40; Jakab (n. 6, 2009) 133-134.

listed as Mesore). Thus, Tybi is the month usually specified.¹⁹ The use of ξως Τῦβι without the definite article in this contract has parallels from several nomes.²⁰ Overall, this clause to exchange vinegar for wine is abbreviated compared to other Arsinoite contracts. *SB* 1.4822.1-3 with *BL* 9.240, for instance, reads εὐρισκόμενον / ὄξος ἢ ἀποίητον ξως τοῦ Τῦβι μηνὸς / ἀλλάξω σοι οἶνον εὐάρεστον, “For you until the month of Tybi I shall exchange vinegar or wine not fit for use that has been discovered for acceptable wine.” *SPP* 20.162.4 = *SPP* 3².141.4 also contains the phrase σοι οἶνον εὐάρεστον, with ὄξος perhaps missing from the end of the previous line. Kruit notes the grammatical difficulty caused by the double accusative with ἀλλάξω in these texts.²¹ The new contract avoids the problem of the double accusative by omitting οἶνον. Also absent is the word ἀποίητον, “not fit for use.” A lack of space is not to blame since the clause appears in a part of the text where the writer made little effort to maximize the number of words per line.

9-11 ἐξ ὑπαρ/χόντων ἡμῶν πάν/των. The singular μου might have been more appropriate than the plural in this phrase. In line 13, the phrase στοιχεῖ μοι ὥς πρόκειται indicates that a single individual was responsible for selling the wine, and he would forfeit only his property if problems arose. While disparity between singular and plural is commonplace in advanced sale contracts, some examples from the Arsinoite nome do show consistency within their texts. *P.Heid.* 5.361.31-32, for instance, preserves ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων μου πάντων, followed a few lines later by στοιχεῖ μοι τοῦτο τὸ γραμματίον ὥς πρόκειται. In two other agreements, *P.Lond.* 1.113-6C and *SB* 1.4489, the plural is used in both clauses.

11 καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὦμο(λόγησα). While this phrase is standard in most contracts, many examples also preserve a stipulation concerning the validity of the agreement before the καί. In the Arsinoite nome, κυρία ἢ ὁμολογία, “the agreement is valid,” is often seen and should probably be understood here.²²

12 Μηνᾶς Γεωργίου ὁ π[ρο]κ(είμενος). The Menas denoted here is likely not the same person as the notary whose signature is preserved in line 14. In the *Pros.Ars.* only two Menas are described as (υἱὸς) Γεωργίου.²³ These two

¹⁹ P.J. Sijpesteijn, “*SPP* XX 136 Reconsidered,” *ZPE* 37 (1980) 283.

²⁰ Kruit (n. 2, 1992) 170. See *BGU* 12.2176.1; *CPR* 9.25.11; *P.Ant.* 1.42.20; *P.Stras.* 7.696.4; *SB* 16.12489.11; *SB* 16.13037.16.

²¹ Kruit (n. 2, 1992) 172-173.

²² See *BGU* 1.310.23; *BGU* 2.403.7; *CPR* 14.1.19; *P.Münch.* 3.100.16; *SB* 1.4711.2

²³ J.M. Diethart, *Prosopographia Arsinoitica I*, s. VI-VIII (*Pros. Ars. I*) (Vienna 1980) 212 no. 3602, 218 no. 3696.

individuals, identified in *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.66.7 and *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.71.8 respectively, are mentioned in documents dating to the seventh and eighth century CE. In the list of advanced sale contracts compiled by A. Jördens and later supplemented by N. Kruit, no agreements written in Greek are attested after the seventh century CE, although a few Coptic contracts for the advance sale of wine are known from the Arab period.²⁴ This indicates that the Menas from *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.71 is likely not the individual named in the new contract. With respect to the Menas from *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.66, no evidence is available which enables us to associate him with the present text.

13 στοιχεῖ μοι ὡς πρόκειται]. Texts from the Arsinoite nome which include this clause often preserve an additional word or phrase which acts as the subject of στοιχεῖ and specifies what is being deemed correct. For example, στοιχεῖ μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκειται, “I deem everything correct as written above,” is seen in numerous documents.²⁵ In *P.Heid.* 5.361.35-37, the phrase στοι/χεῖ μοι τοῦτο τὸ γραμμάτιον / ὡς πρόκειται, “I deem this document correct as written above,” appears. Either could perhaps be understood in the new contract.

14 *di emu Mhna* [*eshm(ioth)*]. While there are several sixth and seventh century CE notaries named Menas known from the Arsinoite nome, only three are attested using the Latin alphabet and the same wording for their signatures as the present contract.²⁶ It is difficult to associate any of these three with the notary of this agreement, however, and he may represent an individual who is not named in the *Notarsunterschriften*. In addition, this Menas does not appear to be the author of the main text of the contract.

15]ευνοκ() Ἀναστᾶσι(υ) αρ[. . . α. Part of the line was lost with the top section of the papyrus.²⁷ Discerning the function of ευνοκ() in this phrase proves difficult. One possibility is to take ευνοκ() as εὐνο(ύ)χ(ου), “eunuch.” This assumes two spelling errors, however, including the lack of an abbreviated upsilon above the *omicron*. *P.Flor.* 1.65.27, from the Oxyrhynchite nome, preserves εὐνοχ(ου) on the verso instead of εὐνούχ(ου), suggesting that this error is possible. Second, the *kappa* would stand for *chi*, which, according to

²⁴ See n. 2. For the Coptic advance sale agreements, including *CPR* 4.38-40, 82-83, 91 and *P.Flor.* 18.11, see Kruit (n. 2, 1992) 167 n. 1.

²⁵ For instance, see *BGU* 1.310.25; *CPR* 14.1.20; *SB* 1.4788.33.

²⁶ J.M. Diethart and K.A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* (Byz. Not.) (Vienna 1986) 44 nos. 12.3.2, 12.4.2, 45 no. 12.6.1.

²⁷ In the photograph, the text following ευνοκ() is very difficult to decipher. I thank Bernhard Palme, who looked at the original document in Vienna, for helping clarify the reading of the remainder of the line.

F.T. Gignac, is feasible when either letter appears between vowels.²⁸ Whether both errors can be understood in this contract is not clear and is perhaps unlikely. Alternatively, ευνοκ() may in fact be a form of εὐδοκ(ιμώτατος), “most honorable,” a common epithet. To justify this reading requires considering a speck above the nu as the upper part of a *delta*, a reading that is speculative based on the preservation of the text.

Discussion

This contract for the advanced sale of wine preserves an agreement between at least two individuals in which a certain Menas, son of Georgios, agrees to sell an unknown amount of wine from a future harvest. The name of the buyer(s) is not preserved. As in most sale contracts for wine, delivery is set for the month of Mesore, and Menas offers an exchange guarantee until the month of Tybi should any of the vintage be deemed unsuitable. An interesting element of this particular agreement is the concise, abridged wording of several clauses. While the presence of at least three hands, including a notary's signature, argues for this text representing an official contract and not a series of notes to be formalized into an agreement at a later date, some clauses, including the guarantee to exchange vinegar for wine and the standard legal formulae at the end, are abridged compared with other advanced sale contracts for wine. Even similar agreements from the Arsinoite nome where the same section of text is preserved tend to contain more detailed clauses.²⁹ Two exceptions may be *SPP* 20.162 = *SPP* 3².141 and *SPP* 3².205 + *SPP* 3.363, although both are less concise in their wording than the present agreement. Unabridged contracts also appear to be the norm in other regions of Egypt, including a recently published example from the Heracleopolite nome.³⁰ Thus, this text demonstrates that such contracts existed along a spectrum in which equally valid agreements containing the same core information varied in the amount of detail presented.

Examination of this new text also provides an opportunity to discuss two aspects of advanced sale contracts for wine that have not yet received sufficient attention. First, while there has been recent discussion of why only some advanced sale contracts for wine contain a guarantee to exchange vinegar for

²⁸ F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. Volume 1: Phonology* (Milan 1976) 92.

²⁹ *BGU* 13.2332; *CPR* 14.4; *P.Lond.* 2.390; *SB* 1.4703; *SB* 1.4882; *SPP* 3².151; *SPP* 3.357. In two other Arsinoite contracts, *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.39 and *SPP* 3².193, the portion of the text preserved is different than that of the agreement under investigation.

³⁰ Hodeček and Mitthof (n. 2).

wine, further insight is possible when we examine the use of this clause chronologically. Second, analyzing the stipulation found in numerous contracts concerning the supply of empty jars, and assessing why in most cases the buyer is held responsible, can provide a refined understanding of the relationship between wine production and amphora manufacturing.

Guarantee Clauses in Wine Contracts

A guarantee to replace vinegar or unfit wine with new, acceptable stock appears in many advanced sale contracts. Only some agreements contain this clause, however, and previous arguments have focused on its relevance for understanding the practice of storing wine after production. For Jakab, the guarantee indicates that storage occurred at the site of manufacture, with the buyer collecting the wine after fermentation was complete.³¹ Otherwise, when the clause is not present, she believes that the unfermented must was removed immediately following the pressing. Kruit argues to the contrary that storage and fermentation of wine by the seller is implicit in all advanced sale contracts, whether or not the exchange guarantee is present.³²

While the implications for storing wine with the seller after the delivery date are important to consider with respect to this guarantee clause, additional reasons for its presence or absence may also be relevant. Of particular interest is what happens when advanced sale contracts for wine are placed in chronological order. Upon examination of these texts in order of date, it appears that no agreement datable from the first to the fifth century CE includes a guarantee.³³ In the sixth and seventh centuries CE, however, all but eight contracts where the relevant section is preserved contain this guarantee.³⁴

³¹ Jakab (n. 6, 1999) 35, 39-40.

³² N. Kruit, "The Meaning of Various Words Related to Wine: Some New Interpretations," *ZPE* 90 (1992) 274-276.

³³ *P.Athen.* 23 (82 CE); *P.Rein.* 2.101 (198-209 CE); *PSI* 12.1249 (265 CE); *PSI* 12.1250 (265 CE); *BGU* 13.2332 (342 CE); *P.Stras.* 1.1 (435 CE); *P.Oxy.* 49.3512 (492 CE); *SB* 16.12486 (492 CE).

³⁴ Including a guarantee: *BGU* 12.2207; *BGU* 12.2209; *BGU* 17.2695; *P.Amst.* 1.48; *P.Ant.* 1.42; *P.Col.* 8.245; *P.Coll.Youtie* 2.93; *P.Edfou* 1.3; *P.Flor.* 1.65; *P.Lond.* 5.1764; *P.Mich.* 11.608; *P.Mich.* 15.748; *P.Oxy.* 61.4132; *P.Rein.* 2.102; *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.39; *P.Stras.* 7.696; *P.Wisc.* 1.11; *PSI* 10.1122; *SB* 5.8264; *SB* 6.9593; *SB* 16.12488; *SB* 16.12489; *SB* 16.12490; *SB* 16.12491; *SB* 16.12639 = *SPP* 20.136; *SB* 16.13037; *SB* 18.13124; *SB* 22.15595 = *SB* 16.12401; *SB* 26.16517; *SB* 26.16830; *SPP* 3².141; *SPP* 3².163; *SPP* 3².205. Without a guarantee: *CPR* 19.31; *PEirene* 2.7; *PHarrauer* 59; *P.Lond.* 2.390; *P.Lond.* 3.1001; *SB* 1.4504; *SB* 4505; *SPP* 3².135. Missing the relevant section: *CPR* 14.4; *P.Heid.* 5.358; *P.Heid.* 5.361; *P.Select* 2; *SB* 22.15725; *SPP* 3.357; *SPP* 3².125; *SPP* 3².200.

The unplanned conversion of wine to vinegar was a common dilemma in antiquity. Pliny (*NH* 14.26) observes that some authors dedicated entire books to the subject of fixing this problem. The sale of vinegar as wine, whether by accident or on purpose, also was a concern of Roman jurists. A study of B. W. Frier about this phenomenon can provide some insight into the need for a guarantee clause in advance sale contracts for wine.³⁵ According to Frier, Roman jurists made a conscious effort to distinguish between wine that had transformed into vinegar (*acuit*) and “vinegar from the beginning” (*ab initio acetum*).³⁶ The former is of concern in wine sale contracts and Roman law in the early Empire developed the concept of *error in substantia* as a solution. This condition held that “a sale is void if one or both parties enter into an agreement while under a fundamental misapprehension concerning the ‘material’ of the object of sale.”³⁷ Frier notes that the purpose of *error in substantia* was to protect the buyer since provisions for buyers were still underdeveloped at this time.

The doctrine of *error in substantia*, while relevant, does not provide the whole story, however. According to F. de Zulueta, vinegar sold as wine counts as such an error, but wine that has gone sour does not.³⁸ In other words, the phrase ὄξος ἢ ἀποίητον, “vinegar or wine not fit for use,” seen in numerous guarantee clauses covers two different types of defects. The reason for describing several types of defects in these guarantees may be related to why this clause only begins to appear in the sixth century. Under Justinian’s reorganization of the law in the first half of the sixth century, the seller in a contract became required to ensure a product was free from defect based on an implied warranty.³⁹ If defects were identified by the buyer, several options were available for seeking damages. As de Zulueta describes:

The buyer’s remedy is either an action for rescission (*actio redhibitoria*, involving *restitutio in integrum*), which must be brought within six months (*tempus utile*), or an action (*quantum minoris aestimatori*), which must be brought within an *annus utilis*, for reduction of the price to what it would have been, had the defect been known to the buyer.⁴⁰

³⁵ B. W. Frier, “Roman Law and the Wine Trade: the Problem of ‘Vinegar Sold as Wine,’” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung* 17 (1983) 257-295.

³⁶ Frier (n. 35) 260.

³⁷ Frier (n. 35) 260.

³⁸ F. de Zulueta, *The Roman Law of Sale* (Oxford 1945) 26. The specific law in which this distinction is made clear is *Dig.* 18.1.9.2, codified by Ulpian.

³⁹ de Zulueta (n. 38) 47.

⁴⁰ de Zulueta (n. 38) 47.

The timeframe allotted to the buyer to seek damages associated with defects, either six months or one year, is of interest in the context of wine sales. As described above, P.J. Sijpesteijn observes that the majority of guarantee clauses to exchange wine cover a period of five months.⁴¹ Specifying that this guarantee is only valid for five months would mean the seller was not liable after six months or one year should the wine begin to show some defect. In addition, the fact that many guarantees list both ὅξος ἢ ἀποίητον suggests that buyers and sellers wanted to ensure that all manner of defects were covered during this initial period.

Sijpesteijn does mention some exceptions to the five month limit of these guarantees, but most appear to offer a shorter period for defects to be detected than under the implied warranty of Justinian.⁴² This may be why such guarantees appear exclusively in contracts dated to the sixth and seventh centuries CE.

Supply of Jars in Wine Contracts

While the guarantee clause in wine sale contracts appears to show a distinct chronological pattern, reference to who is responsible for supplying empty jars occurs in agreements of all dates. This stipulation is more common in contracts which do not include the guarantee clause, as Jakab notes, but also appears in approximately half of the known contracts which do include a guarantee.⁴³ One puzzling aspect of these clauses is that, in the vast majority of cases, the buyer is responsible for supplying empty vessels. Consideration of how buyers would go about procuring these jars helps shed light on what would have been a significant market in Egypt for the purchase of amphorae.

The advanced sale contract presented here is one of the small minority where the seller of the wine agrees to supply empty jars. One would presume that most of these sellers were owners of agricultural estates on which vineyards would be of primary economic importance. Certain estate owners also had amphora workshops attached to their property, a fact demonstrated by numerous lease agreements preserved in the papyrological record. The most well known of these leases is a mid-third century CE example from the Oxyrhynchite nome, *P.Oxy.* 50.3595, published by H. Cockle.⁴⁴ In cases where the

⁴¹ See n. 19 above.

⁴² Sijpesteijn (n. 19) 283. Texts he mentions include *P.Coll.Youtie* 2.93, *P.Lond.* 3.999, and *P.Lond.* 5.1881.

⁴³ Jakab (n. 6, 1999) 39–41.

⁴⁴ H. Cockle, "Pottery Manufacture in Roman Egypt: A New Papyrus," *JRS* 71 (1981) 87–97. Other lease contracts include *BGU* 19.2819; *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67110; *P.Flor.* 1.50;

seller agrees to provide jars, perhaps his estate included an amphora workshop meaning that he had empty vessels at his disposal.

Lease contracts for pottery workshops have served as an important foundation for several recent studies aimed at exploring the papyrological record for insight into pottery production.⁴⁵ They do not explain, however, why so many wine buyers were required to supply their own jars when wine-producing estates could have vessels made to order. An underappreciated aspect of amphora production is that empty jars were marketable in their own right, which is demonstrated by the presence of several entries for such vessels in the section labelled *De fictilibus*, "On earthenware," in the Edict on Maximum Prices (15.88-101) issued by Diocletian in 301 CE.⁴⁶ Further evidence for jars being sold as an independent commodity derives from the papyrological record. Among the numerous advanced sale contracts that have been published, a small number of these texts are concerned with the sale of empty jars.⁴⁷ *PPrag.* 1.46, for instance, records a contract for 400 high quality new amphorae with pitched interiors to be delivered in the month of Payni. This is two months in advance of the grape harvest in Mesore and could represent either an estate owner seeking vessels to bottle wine from his own vineyards or an independent buyer purchasing jars for wine he bought in advance. In other cases, such as *CPR* 10.39, the delivery date for jars is specified as Mesore, indicating a direct connection with the grape harvest.

According to A.W. Mees, there are two main contexts in which the delivery of newly manufactured amphorae took place.⁴⁸ First, vessels were delivered for use in the harvest. Jars produced at estate workshops or ordered in advance sale agreements probably served this purpose. Second, amphorae could be delivered to merchants who would then retail these jars to interested buyers. This may have been the function of numerous workshops documented in the

PLond. 3.994; *POxy.* 50.3596-3597; *PTebt.* 2.342; *SB* 20.14300; and perhaps *PMert.* 2.76.

⁴⁵ S. Gallimore, "Amphora Production in the Roman World: a View from the Papyri," *BASP* 47 (2010) 155-184; A.W. Mees, *Organisationsformen römischer Töpfer-Manufakturen am Beispiel von Arezzo und Rheinzabern* (Mainz 2004) 209-260.

⁴⁶ The section numbers are based on the edition of the text presented in M. Giacchero (ed.), *Edictum Diocletiani et collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium*, vol. 1 (Genoa 1974). For a discussion of the sale of pottery, including reference to Diocletian's Edict, see J.T. Peña, *The Urban Economy during the Early Dominate: Pottery Evidence from the Palatine Hill* (Oxford 1999) 29-37.

⁴⁷ *BGU* 4.1143; *BGU* 12.2205; *CPR* 10.39; *CPR* 14.34 = *MPER* 15.112; *PFlor.* 3.314; *PLond.* 3.1303; *PLond.* 5.1656; *POxy.* 58.3942; *PPrag.* 1.46; *SB* 1.4675. These texts have been examined in detail in Morelli (n. 5) 16-24.

⁴⁸ Mees (n. 45) 249.

archaeological record of Egypt that are not connected to agricultural estates. For example, P. Ballet notes that amphora production sites are often located on the periphery of settlements, implying a regular attachment to urban centers.⁴⁹ In Middle Egypt, D. Dixneuf observes that amphora kilns tend to be found near the Nile, implying that ease of transport was a primary motive behind location of production.⁵⁰

In certain cases, there may even be evidence that estate workshops also manufactured amphorae to be sold for extra profit. In *P.Oxy.* 50.3595.16-17, for instance, the potter in question is required to manufacture 15,300 jars of various sizes on an annual basis, of which 10,000 must be pitched, presumably for storing wine. With respect to the remaining third of the consignment, no specifications are given regarding their intended use. One possibility is that the estate owner required these jars for a purpose other than wine storage, although another option is that they were intended for sale to private buyers or other estates.

Buyers named in advance sale contracts were not the only individuals who purchased amphorae. Estate owners are also documented procuring jars in this way. In the Heroninos Archive, which records the operations of the Appianus estate in the third century CE Fayyum region of Egypt, no mention is made of potters in the employ of the estate or of pottery production in any manner.⁵¹ Instead, there are receipts for the purchase of large numbers of wine jars demonstrating that Appianus preferred to buy rather than manufacture any vessels he needed. Thus, the fact that wine buyers typically had to supply empty jars in advanced sale contracts adheres to a standard economic practice in Egypt. Amphorae could be bought and sold as independent commodities, and were often needed by individuals who had purchased stocks of wine.

Conclusions

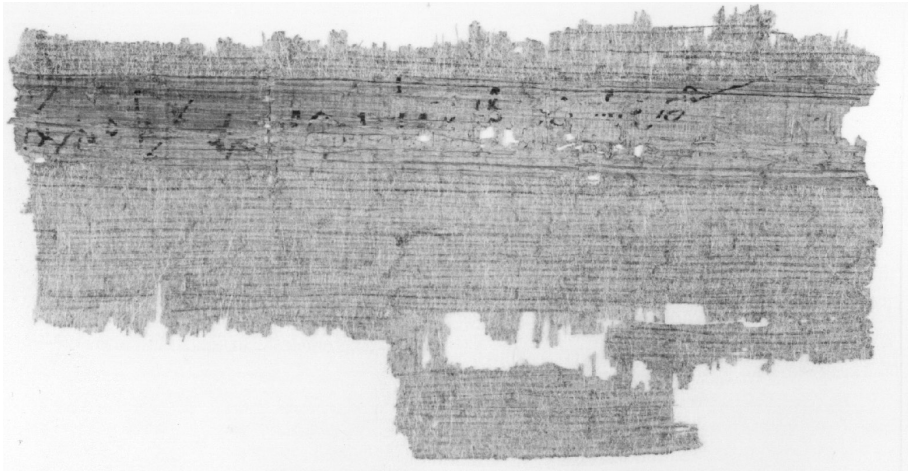
The advanced sale contract for wine presented here provides one more example of a growing corpus of texts known from all regions of Egypt. Though the wording in this agreement is more abridged than in most contracts of this

⁴⁹ P. Ballet, "Dépotoirs culturels, domestiques et 'industriels' dans la *chôra* égyptienne à l'époque romaine," in *La ville et ses déchets dans le monde romain: rebuts et recyclages*, ed. P. Ballet et al. (Montagnac 2003) 226.

⁵⁰ D. Dixneuf, "Les amphores d'époques romaine et byzantine découvertes à Tell el-Makhzan (Égypte – Nord du Sinaï): observations préliminaires," *MBAH* 25.1 (2006) 102.

⁵¹ D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt* (Cambridge 1991) 167.

type, it still preserves much of the standard formulae. Presentation of this text also enabled consideration of some more general issues. With respect to the presence of guarantee clauses to exchange vinegar for wine seen in numerous contracts, this section only appears in sixth and seventh century texts and may have been developed in response to changes in Justinian law. A second stipulation, which names the person responsible for providing empty jars, is significant for the insight it provides into the large-scale marketing of amphorae that took place in Egypt in antiquity. Overall, this contract provides several opportunities to explore broader economic and legal issues, demonstrating that advance sale contracts can be important sources for engaging such topics.



P. Vindob. inv. G 40267 verso

Deux ordres du supérieur du monastère de Baouît¹

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Abstract

Edition of P.Duk. inv. 259 and 1053, two orders of payment issued by the superior of the Apa Apollo monastery at Bawit.

Au début des années 1990, S.J. Clackson s'est intéressée à la formule $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\iota$, littéralement «C'est notre père qui écrit», qui apparaît en tête de plusieurs papyrus coptes.² Notre regrettée collègue a montré de manière convaincante qu'il fallait interpréter ces documents comme des ordres émis par le supérieur du monastère d'apa Apollô à Baouît. S. J. Clackson a ensuite préparé l'édition de nombreux textes inédits et la réédition de ceux déjà publiés; l'ouvrage est paru en 2008, à titre posthume.³ Le corpus ainsi constitué comprend 71 documents (*P.Bawit Clackson* 1-71).⁴ On peut y ajouter maintenant

¹ La présente contribution a été réalisée dans le cadre du projet «Christians in Egypt» réalisé à l'Université de Leyde et financé grâce à un «Marie Curie Intra-European Fellowship for Career Development» (projet PIEF-GH-2009-254782).

² S.J. Clackson, «The Michaelides Coptic Manuscript Collection in the Cambridge University Library and British Library. With Excursuses on the Monasteries of Apa Apollo and Two Uncommon Epistolary Formulae», D.W. Johnson, *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies*. vol. 2 (Rome 1993) 123-138; «Jonathan Byrd 36.2: Another $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\iota$ Text?», *BASP* 30 (1993) 67-68.

³ S.J. Clackson, *It Is Our Father Who Writes: Orders From the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit* (Cincinnati 2008). Sur ces documents, cf. aussi A. Delattre, *Papyrus coptes et grecs du monastère d'apa Apollô de Baouît conservés aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles* (Bruxelles 2007) 147-151; A. Delattre, «L'administration de Baouît au VIII^e siècle. À propos des documents $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\iota$ », *Chronique d'Égypte* 85 (2010) 391-395.

⁴ On notera que *P.Bawit Clackson* 22 ne commence pas par $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\iota$: l'émetteur se décrit simplement par son nom, Petre, et son titre, *proestôs*. L'absence de la formule suggère que Petre n'est pas le supérieur du monastère et donc que le titre de *proestôs* est distinct de ceux qui désignent le supérieur ($\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$, $\pi\iota\omega\tau \mu\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ou $\alpha\rho\chi\mu\epsilon\alpha\nu\delta\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$); cf. A. Delattre, «Des linteaux et des noms. Une enquête prosopographique à Baouît», in A. Boud'hors et C. Louis, *Études coptes XI. Treizième journée*

quelques documents de Bruxelles (*P.Bru.x.Bawit* 1-3 et peut-être 48); plusieurs collections possèdent des textes encore inédits,⁵ dont certains vont paraître prochainement.⁶

Je propose ici l'édition de deux ordres du supérieur de Baouït conservés à Duke University (inv. 259 et 1053).⁷ Les deux documents sont des ordres de paiement, comme la plupart des textes commençant par la formule $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\iota$. Ils ne sont pas signés par le supérieur,⁸ mais sont munis d'un sceau en argile portant l'empreinte d'un monogramme; le sceau permet d'authentifier le document et d'identifier l'émetteur, comme le ferait une signature autographe.⁹ Quelques textes de Baouït présentent un dispositif similaire: des ordres de paiement (*P.Bru.x.Bawit* 4-7, 11, 13, 17, 19, 23, 27, *P.Hermitage Copt.* 16), un document $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\iota$ (*P.Bawit Clackson* 43) et une lettre du supérieur (*P.Mich.Copt.* 14).

Il s'agit du même sceau, et donc du même supérieur, dans les deux papyrus; le monogramme a la forme d'une croix, aux extrémités de laquelle sont dessinées des lettres. Dans **1**, le sceau a été imprimé à l'envers («tête» en bas); il est correctement orienté dans **2**. Je joins ici un schéma.

d'études (Marseille, 7-9 juin 2007) (Paris 2010) 29, n. 9. Par ailleurs, *P.Bawit Clackson* 60 provient des fouilles de Ouadi Sarga; on peut se demander si la formule $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\iota$ était aussi utilisée dans ce monastère ou si le document y a été envoyé.

⁵ Notamment la collection Palau-Ribes de Barcelone, la Papyrussammlung de l'Université de Cologne, le musée d'Ismailia (P.Ismailia inv. 534, anciennement 1166). Huit documents inédits sont en possession de la famille de J. Clédât; j'espère publier prochainement ces pièces (cf. Delattre, «L'administration de Baouït» [n. 3] 392). Par ailleurs, un papyrus $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\iota$ a été présenté en 2004 dans le catalogue de la maison de vente aux enchères Boisgirard et associés (*Arts d'Orient. Vente aux enchères publiques. Vendredi 19 mars 2004 à 14h15. Paris – Hôtel Drouot* [Paris 2004] 83 [n° 234]).

⁶ G. Schenke et M.-J. Albarrán Martínez m'ont aimablement informé de leurs publications à venir: sept documents de Cologne seront publiés par G. Schenke (*PKöln ägypt.* 2.18-24) et un papyrus de la collection Palau-Ribes (inv. 352) a été présenté par M.-J. Albarrán Martínez au XXVI^e congrès de Papyrologie, tenu à Genève en août 2010, et est à présent publié dans les actes («A New Coptic Text from Bawit: P.Palau Rib. inv. 352,» in P. Schubert, *Actes du 26^e Congrès international de papyrologie* [Genève 2012] 7-10).

⁷ J'ai eu l'occasion d'étudier les deux textes dans le cadre de ma dissertation doctorale et je les ai déjà mentionnés dans Delattre, *Papyrus coptes et grecs* (n. 3) 119 et 148. Les papyrus ont été étudiés à partir d'images digitales (300 dpi), aimablement fournies par J. Sosin, que je remercie vivement. Des images sont également disponibles sur le site internet <<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus>>.

⁸ Comme le sont *P.Bawit Clackson* 1-24; *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 1 et 3.

⁹ Cf. Delattre, *Papyrus coptes et grecs* (n. 3) 148.



Fig. 1: Schéma du monogramme

On distingue clairement les lettres Σ à gauche, A en dessous et K à droite. La lettre au-dessus a la forme d'un P. Je propose de lire Ισα(α)κ, en estimant que le P est noté pour éviter de laisser une barre de la croix vide; le dispositif ainsi obtenu évoque par ailleurs un staurogramme.¹⁰ Un supérieur du nom d'Isaak est mentionné dans deux linteaux de bois du monastère et sans doute aussi dans un papyrus découvert sur le site de Baouît en 2007.¹¹

Il est par ailleurs intéressant de noter que les deux documents, émis à deux semaines d'intervalle dans la 2^e indiction,¹² sous la responsabilité du même supérieur, ont été écrits par des scribes différents, Pamoun et Mousaios, bien attestés par ailleurs. Pamoun est déjà connu par deux documents: *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 26 et *P.Bawit Clackson* 47, respectivement datés de la 14^e et de la 1^{ère} indiction. Sur base de l'écriture,¹³ on peut proposer de lui attribuer deux autres textes: *P.Bawit Clackson* 17 et 43, datés de la 8^e-9^e ou de la 14^e indiction.¹⁴ Le scribe

¹⁰ L'iota doit se lire dans la barre verticale de la croix, comme il arrive souvent (cf. R. Feind, *Byzantinische Monogramme und Eigennamen. Alphabetisiertes Wörterbuch/ Byzantine Monograms and Personal Names. An Alphabetized Lexicon* (Regenstauf 2010) 19-20; il faut cependant noter que l'iota est parfois aussi placé à l'extrémité d'une des branches de la croix, comme dans le monogramme du nom Isaak présenté à la p. 321, n° 36).

¹¹ Pour les linteaux, cf. Delattre, «Des linteaux et des noms» (n. 4) 26-27; pour le papyrus (Musée Copte Inv. 12837), cf. Delattre, «Trois papyrus du monastère de Baouît», *BIFAO* 112 (2012) 101-110, n° 1.. Dans les linteaux comme dans le papyrus du Caire, un deuxième responsable, du nom de Mèna, est mentionné après Isaak. Il s'agit vraisemblablement des mêmes personnages dans tous les documents. — J'avais également proposé de lire le nom d'Isaak dans le monogramme, fort abîmé, de sceaux en argile apposés sur des ordres de paiement de Bruxelles (*P.Bru.x.Bawit* 4 et 5). Si la lecture est correcte, il faut imaginer soit qu'il y a eu deux supérieurs du nom d'Isaak, soit qu'il s'agit d'une seule personne, qui a utilisé des sceaux différents.

¹² Le texte 2 date du 19 Phaôphi de la 2^e indiction, soit du 16 ou du 17 octobre, et le document 1 a été écrit le 6 Hathyr de la même année, soit le 2 ou le 3 novembre.

¹³ Outre le caractère général de l'écriture, une série d'éléments sont caractéristiques: la présence d'une croix au-dessus du texte, la ligature vv dans son nom, où le v se réduit à une petite ondulation.

¹⁴ La date de *P.Bawit Clackson* 43 n'a pas été lue dans l'édition: le sceau apposé sur le document masque en partie le quantième de l'indiction. Une note indique qu'il faut

a donc été actif sous différents supérieurs: Daniël (*P.Bawit Clackson* 17), Kêri (*P.Bru.x.Bawit* 26), un personnage dont il est difficile de lire le nom sur le sceau (*P.Bawit Clackson* 43)¹⁵ et Isaak (P.Duk. inv. 259). Mousaios a également rédigé plusieurs documents du monastère, notamment *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 25, qui est signé par le supérieur Geôrgios.¹⁶

Le supérieur de nos deux documents utilise donc les mêmes scribes que Daniël, Geôrgios ou Kêri. Comme l'a montré S.J. Clackson, la distribution chronologique des textes de ces trois archimandrites montre qu'ils se sont probablement succédé à la tête du monastère (Daniël: 6^e-7^e ind.; Geôrgios: 8^e-9^e ind.; Kêri: 11^e-14^e ind.);¹⁷ on peut sans doute maintenant ajouter Isaak à la liste, soit avant Daniël, soit après Kêri. Si l'on accepte l'identification avec le supérieur attesté dans les deux linteaux et le papyrus découvert en 2007, Isaak est attesté dans des documents des 2^e, 11^e et 13^e ou 14^e années.¹⁸ La solution la plus économique consisterait dans ce cas à placer son activité connue entre la 11^e année d'un cycle et la 2^e année du cycle suivant, qui serait celui où Daniël, Geôrgios et Kêri ont été supérieurs.

1. Ordre de paiement de pain

Le papyrus est de forme rectangulaire et de couleur brune. Le coupon est complet mais abîmé et effacé par endroits. L'écriture s'inscrit dans un schéma quadrilinéaire; elle est assez cursive et les ligatures sont nombreuses. Un sceau en argile est apposé dans la partie inférieure droite du document; il présente un monogramme cruciforme.

peut-être lire un δ à la fin de la date. Un examen de l'original permet en effet de lire ivδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ, «14^e indiction».

¹⁵ On peut proposer, sous toute réserve, de lire les lettres suivantes ε, θ, ρ et σ.

¹⁶ Sur ce scribe, cf. Delattre, *Papyrus coptes et grecs* (n. 3) 131; A. Delattre et N. Gonis, «P.Clackson 36-43. Le dossier des reçus de taxe grecs du monastère d'Apā Apollō à Baouît», in A. Boud'hors, J. Clackson, C. Louis et P. Sijpesteijn, *Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt. Ostraca, Papyri, and Essays in Memory of Sarah Clackson (P.Clackson)* (Cincinnati 2009) 61-71.

¹⁷ Cf. Clackson, *It Is Our Father Who Writes* (n. 3) 10; pour Kêri, cf. aussi *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 26.

¹⁸ Les textes publiés ici datent de la 2^e indiction; un linteau de bois conservé au Musée du Caire (JdE 35017) date de la 11^e année (cf. Delattre, «Des linteaux et des noms» [n. 4]); enfin, la date du papyrus qui mentionne Isaak et qui a été découvert sur le site de Baouît en 2007 n'est pas conservée, mais le contrat porte sur la 14^e indiction, il a donc pu être écrit cette année-là ou l'année précédente (cf. Delattre, «Trois papyrus» [n. 10], n° 1).

P.Duk. inv. 259

7,5 x 11,2 cm

VIII^e siècle

+

→ + ηε[Ν]εῖωτ πετςζαῖ ηπερω[ηρ]ε
 [απα] βενιαμῖν χε τι ψο[μτε?]
 ηλιτρα νοεικ απα κολ[θ]ε
 ερκυ πῶς καμη. Μ(ηνι) Ἀθυ(ρ) ς [ινδ(ικτίωνος)] β.
 5 Παμουγ. + sceau

3 λίτρα 4 l. ερκη, μ' αθ^ο παρ.

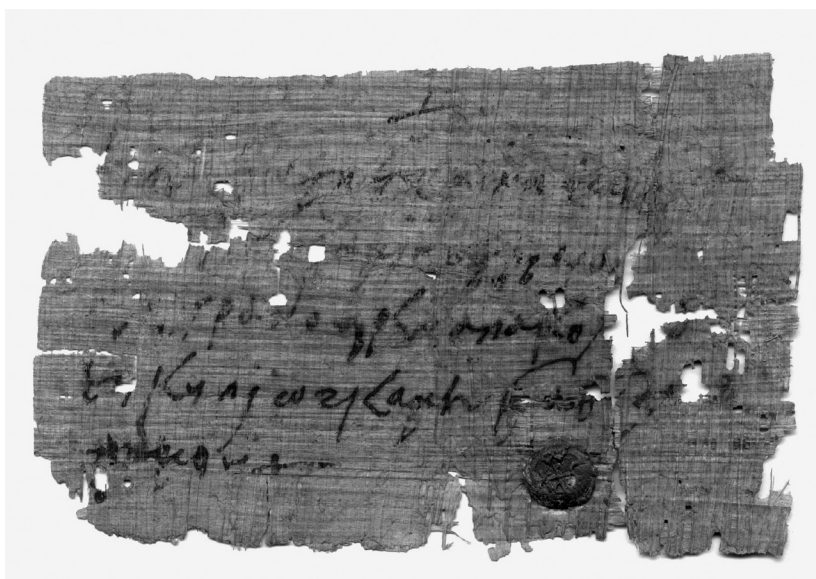


Fig 2: P.Duk. Inv. 259

«†† C'est le Père qui écrit à son fils apa Benjamin: donne trois (?) livres de pain à apa Kolthe, qui est assigné au champ de Kamê. Le 6 du mois de Hathyr de la 2^e indiction. Pamoun.†»

2 [απα] βενιαμῖν χε τι ψο[μτε?]: Les lectures sont incertaines. La séquence μῖν qui se lit clairement au milieu doit être la fin du nom propre Benjamin. Le nom est très rare à Baouît: on ne le rencontre qu'une seule fois, dans *P.Bawit Clackson* 36, un ordre du supérieur adressé à apa βενιαμῖν (daté de la 1^{ère} indiction et écrit par le scribe Jôannês). Comme dans notre document, Benjamin est prié de fournir du pain à quelqu'un. Je propose de voir dans les

deux textes un même personnage, qui avait sans doute une fonction dans la boulangerie du monastère.

3 ΝΑΙΤΡΑ ΝΟΕΙΚ : La distribution de pain fait l'objet de quelques ordres du supérieur (*P.Bawit Clackson* 35-37), mais aussi d'ordres de paiement (*P.Bruх. Bawit* 14-16). Le pain se mesure parfois en «livres», cf. p.ex. *P.Hamb.* 3.216.5 et 6; *SB* 14.11917.9; *SPP* 3.577.2.

4 ΕΥΚΥ ΠΩΣ ΚΑΜΗ : On trouve la même séquence, avec la même faute (ΕΥΚΥ pour ΕΚΗ), dans *P.Bruх. Bawit* 26.1, écrit par le même scribe: $\text{ΝΕCННΥ ΕΥΚΥ ΠΩΣ ΚΑΜΗ}$, «les frères qui sont assignés au champ de Kamê». Une expression analogue se lit dans *P.Bawit Clackson* 24, un ordre du supérieur de Baouît où il est question de donner des vêtements à Ammône, l. 3-4: $\text{ΕΚΗ ΕΠΑΝΚΑΛΟΥ ΝCΩΚ | ΔΠΑΡΧ(Η)}$, «qui est assigné à Pankalou pour collecter l'*aparkhê*». Un τόπος Κάμητος est attesté dans *P.Mon. Apollo* 1.27.3 (= *P.Lond.* 5.1078); il faut sans doute l'identifier avec le ΠΩΣ ΚΑΜΗ .

2. Ordre de paiement de légumes et d'encens

Le morceau de papyrus est de forme trapézoïdale et de couleur beige jaune. Le fragment est brisé en haut: au moins deux lignes sont manquantes. L'écriture s'inscrit dans un schéma quadrilinéaire; elle est cursive et les ligatures sont nombreuses. Un sceau en argile est apposé dans la partie inférieure du document; il présente un monogramme cruciforme.

La signature de Mousaiou, un scribe bien attesté au monastère de Baouît, et la présence d'un sceau présentant le même monogramme que dans *P.Duk. inv.* 259 (1) suggèrent que le document commençait également par la formule ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCZΔΙ . À en juger par la taille des lignes, la ligne 1 devait contenir le début usuel des ordres du supérieur $\text{ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤCZΔΙ ΜΠΕCΩΗΡΕ}$, tandis que le nom du destinataire était noté à la ligne 2, suivi éventuellement d'un titre. Ensuite, sur la même ligne, la particule ΧΕ devait introduire l'objet du message. Il s'agit ici, selon toute vraisemblance, d'un ordre de paiement: on peut donc restituer † , «donne» (cf. *P.Bawit Clackson* 7.3; 8.4; 16.2; etc.). La première ligne conservée pourrait suivre directement et former un texte acceptable. Cependant, on ne peut exclure que l'ordre de paiement ait mentionné davantage de produits, qui auraient été notés sur une ou plusieurs lignes avant la première conservée.

Le texte a été écrit au verso d'un morceau de protocole. On distingue deux blocs d'«écriture perpendiculaire» et, entre les deux, des traits qui pourraient correspondre aux lettres arabes *bā'* et *sīn*. Je propose d'y lire *bi-s[mi llāhi al-*

rahmāni al-rahīmi] et d'en faire la première ligne arabe d'un protocole bilingue grec et arabe (cf., p. ex., CPR 3.1-16).

P.Duk. inv. 1053 verso

6,6 x 9,6 cm

viii^e siècle

[ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΖΔΙ ΜΠΨΗΡΕ]

[1 ligne?]

→ ΟΥΨΗΜ ΝΟΥΟΤΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΨΗΜ

ΝΣΤΟΪ ΝΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΠΑ ΠΚΥΡ(ΙΟΣ)

5 ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΕΧΡΥΣΩΝΕΣ ΠΕ. Μ(ηνὶ) Φ(α)ω(φι) ιθ ινδ(ικτίωνος) β.
Μουσαίου.

sceau

4 ΠΚΥΡ_s pap., κύριος 5 χρυσώνης, μ' φ^ω ι^δ, pap. 6 μουσαι^{ον} pap.

«(C'est le Père qui écrit à son fils ... donne) un peu de légumes et un peu d'encens à cet homme qui appartient à la suite de maître Petros, le *khrysônês*. Le 19 du mois de Phaôphi de la 2^e indiction. Mousaiou.»

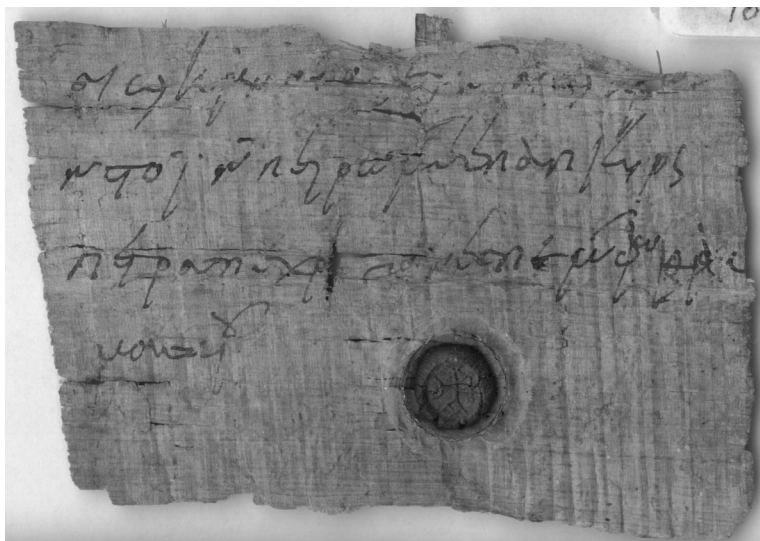


Fig. 3: P.Duk. inv. 1053 verso

1 Dans *P.Bawit Clackson* 32.2-3, l'archimandrite ordonne de donner ΟΥΚΟΓΙ ΟΥΟΟΤΕ ΜΗ ΟΥΚΟΓΙ ΛΑΧ(ΑΝΟΝ) «un peu de légumes et un peu de *lakhanon*».

2 Le terme *στοῖ* désigne du parfum ou de l'encens, cf. p. ex. *O.Crum* 362.6. Un vendeur de parfum ou d'encens est attesté dans *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 4.1.

3 Le mot *χρυσώνης* désigne un fonctionnaire financier; cf. Förster, *WB*, p. 888-889 «Finanzbeamter (Direktor der Staatskasse eines Gaues)». Aucun *χρυσώνης* du nom de Petros n'est attesté dans les textes documentaires grecs ou coptes.



Fig.4: *P.Duk. inv. 1053 recto*

Missing Papyri

The Greek and Coptic Papyri in the von Scherling Papyrus Collection

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Abstract

Census of the Greek (Part 1: by K.A. Worp) and Coptic (Part 2: by R. Dekker) papyri once belonging to the collection of Erik von Scherling and subsequently sold to a variety of institutions and individuals.

Part 1: The Greek Papyri in the von Scherling Papyrus Collection

In an article entitled “Back to Oegstgeest: The von Scherling Papyrus Collection,”¹ I presented a certain amount of data concerning a private papyrus collection in the Netherlands once owned by Erik von Scherling (hereafter: [E.] v.S.).² It was followed (“Some von Scherling Texts in Minnesota,” pp. 48-73) by an edition of 10 papyri and 1 ostrakon once belonging to this collection and kept nowadays at the University of Minnesota.

Recently, a private question raised by W. Clarysse (Leuven) re SB 16.12330 (see below, n. 7) caused me to return to this dossier. In the meantime, another colleague, J.J. Witkam (Leiden), had made v.S.’s periodical *Rotulus* for the most part available on the Internet,³ and it seemed worthwhile to collect from it various descriptions of papyri, ostraka, and other types of objects inscribed with Greek texts.⁴ This produced a sizeable list of such descriptions. While

¹ See *BASP* 44 (2007) 39-47.

² Living in the Netherlands, 1907-1956; necrology by J.M.A. Janssen, *CdÉ* 32 (1957) 81.

³ See the web site <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference>. It is planned to supply still absent parts (vol. 3.3-4) in the near future.

⁴ For those interested in using Google Maps for an exercise in papyrological history, here are the addresses of E. von Scherling’s firm as given in:

Rotulus 1 (1931) and 2 (1932): Leiden, Vreewijkstraat 31a

Rotulus 3.1-2 (June, 1933): Leiden, Hooglandse Kerkgracht 24

it is unknown who helped v.S. in making the descriptions and transcripts of individual texts referred to in *Rotulus*, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that at least in a number of cases the expertise of the Leiden University professor of Greek and papyrologist B.A. van Groningen was available to v.S. After all, it was van Groningen who was allowed to publish two v.S. texts even before they were sold by v.S. to a new owner,⁵ while the item in *Rotulus* 4 (1937) #1889 was published by a student of van Groningen, Ms. Cornelia A. Noordegraaf.⁶ Moreover, the systematic collection of the data from *Rotulus* allows one to see that in this periodical a number of papyri were offered for sale that may claim some special interest, even while they are currently residing in some unknown private collection;⁷ see the classification of texts at the end of Parts 1 and 2 of

Rotulus 3.3 (1933): Leiden, Valdeszstraat 8a

Rotulus 3.4 (1933) - 4 (1937): Leiden, Morsweg 38

JEOL 7(1940) - *Rotulus* 7 (1954): Oegstgeest, Juffermansstraat 35.

⁵ Cf. *Rotulus* 3, #1726 (= *SB* 5.7524, present location unknown) and *Rotulus* 4, #1886 = *Rotulus* 6, #2346 (= *SB* 20.14590 + Pack² 1189, now in a private collection in New York).

⁶ In *Mnemosyne*, 3a series, 6 (1938) 273-310; thanks to information kindly provided by M. Perale (temporarily residing in Minneapolis, MN) the present location of the original papyrus (now referred to as *SB* 26.16607 = Pack² 2274) can now be indicated. In a private communication Mr. Perale indicates that only after von Scherling's death in 1956 the papyrus was acquired by Francis Edwards (London) and sold in the same year to James Ford Bell in Minneapolis. The object is housed at the James Ford Bell Library in Minneapolis under the inventory number UMN Bell 400 (cf. the web site: <http://www.lib.umn.edu/bell/jamesfordbell>). A photo of the object (referred to now as "the Bell papyrus") is available online through the web site <http://egypt.umn.edu/Egypt/1-pb%20pdfs/Appendix%20Images.pdf>, scrolling on to Illustrations 23-25 = pp. 229-231, while the papyrus is mentioned on the web site <http://egypt.umn.edu/Egypt/1-pb%20pdfs/Appendix%20Text.pdf>, scrolling on to pages 25-26 = 169-170 respectively 40 = 184.

⁷ Despite one's expectations, the private letter P.Minnesota inv. 6 published by W. Nichipor and L. Ricketts, *BASP* 18 (1981) 131-132 (= *SB* 16.12330; 8 x 12.5 cm, 16 lines, second century B.C.E.), acquired by Minnesota University from E.v.S. on Dec. 22, 1937, does not appear in *Rotulus* 2 (1932) - 4 (1937). The same observation goes for:

- A Bilingual Sale of a House at Soknopaiu Nesos + Loan of Money, published by N. Kruit, B.P. Muhs, and K.A. Worp in *Res severa verum gaudium* (FS *Zauzich*), pp. 339-368;

- *P.Select.* 23 = P.Wegener 1 (Fragment of an *Eiromenon*; = G. 525); cf. P.Wegener 2 = *Rotulus* 7, #2524, G. 526);

- *SB* 6.9426 (Dyke Certificate) and (possibly) 20.15191 (List of Books), both at Boulder, Colorado;

- *SB* 10.10569-10570 (London, British Museum: Two Oracle Questions); and

- Various papyri acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities (RMO), Leiden, through various purchases made in 1942 and 1948 (see below).

this article. Only so much is certain that v.S. sold papyri not only to institutions and libraries, but also to private collectors, and that in general he had rather frequent contact with customers in the United States of America.⁸ Therefore, it is only reasonable to suppose that some v.S. papyri may be kept somewhere in a (private) collection, in particular in the USA. Searching for these texts is tantamount to searching worldwide for a needle in a haystack, but sometimes chance helps the retrieval of items that were lost for a long time,⁹ hence a publication of a list of these missing papyri may be useful.¹⁰

Rotulus 2 (1932):

1419 = #1508. Ostrakon inscribed with a Greek magical text; 4 x 2.5 inch., 12 lines, imperfect at the edges; second / third century C.E.

1499 Fragment of a Coptic letter in Mid-Egyptian dialect on papyrus. 9 x 4.5 inch. The letter concerns 'Father Phib ... apa Phib' and begins: 'with God, greetings.' The Verso is occupied by a Greek-Arabic account. Ninth century C.E.

1502 Copy of a letter addressed to a Roman strategos of Arsinoe; ca 4.75 x 3.5 inch., Verso blank, gaps. Roman period, first / second century C.E.

1503 Greek papyrus deed concerning the payment of a sum to a certain Serapion. Verso blank, slightly faded, 12 lines, 8.75 x 4 inch. Roman period, second / third century C.E. **KAW:** the item is now P.Minnesota inv. 1 (unpubl.).

Obviously, there were more v.S. papyri than those visible for us through his sales catalogue *Rotulus*; a certain number of them were described in separate lists of objects offered for sale (there may have been ca. 51 of these lists; cf. the web site <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference/>, searching for "*Rotulus*"). To be sure, some of these texts may have come to their present owners only *after* v. S.'s death in 1956.

⁸ Another US library that houses v.S. material (cf. *BASP* 44 [2007] 41-42 for such collections in Bloomington, Boulder, Duke, Minneapolis, Yale) is the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, Lawrence, KS. I am grateful to Ms. R. Dekker for communicating this information to me; see also below at *Rotulus* 7, #2597. For American private customers of v.S., cf. below, nn. 22-23, and at *Rotulus* 4, #1956 (Coptic).

⁹ Cf. the famous story of three P.Jandanae in Giessen (Germany) which apparently were lost at the end of WW II and resurfaced a number of years later in the USA, as told by H.G. Gundel, *Die Rückführung Giessener Papyri aus Amerika*, *Kurzberichte Giessen* 4 (Giessen 1957); see also his article in *Aegyptus* 41 (1961) 6-16.

¹⁰ Cf. the title of the autobiography of the well-known Oxford classicist E.R. Dodds, *Missing Persons* (Oxford 1977). In fact, various detective stories and novels have appeared under the same title.

1504 Byzantine letter, 6th century C.E. 17 lines, 7.75 x 2.75 inch., Verso blank, some holes. **KAW**: the item is now P.Minnesota inv. 2 (unpubl.).

1505 Fragmentary Greek papyrus, 7 lines, much incomplete, 2.5 x 3.25 inch. Sixth century C.E.

1506 Fragment from a Byzantine Ms. on papyrus, probably from a letter, ca 6 x 6.5 cm, written in ciphers (in full letters) throughout Recto and Verso. Without doubt a fragment of a letter in secret writing. Partly imperfect. Sixth - seventh century C.E. **KAW**: Is this a fragment of Greek cryptography? On the subject, see G. Menci in *Proc. Congr. XXV* (Ann Arbor 2010) 551-564.

1507 Greek papyrus fragment, Byzantine period, 8.5 x 4.5 inch., ca 11 lines, written in a typical Byzantine hand. List of people who have paid the taxes with the amount for each person, injuries at the foot, otherwise in good condition.

1508 = #1419, q.v.

1509 **KAW**: the item is now O.Minnesota inv. 1, published in *BASP* 44 (2007) 72-73, text #11.

Rotulus 3 (1933):

1606 **KAW**: this item is now LDAB #3461 (present location unknown).

1607 Fragment from a Greek papyrus letter containing a complaint because of wrong and a request to the authorities to interfere. Ca 6 x 4.5 inch., first / second century C.E.

1608 Fragmentary papyrus, 16 lines on the Recto and (much faded) 8 lines on the Verso, possibly containing vouchers from the clearing communication, not quite complete. Ca 6 x 5 inch., first / second century C.E.

1609 Two leaves on papyrus. List of names of persons with the sums they have paid. With gaps. ca 6.5 x 5 inch., first-third century C.E. Among the names: Euchdaimonos, Ptolemaion, Nasiunos, Patreios, etc.

1701 Fragmentary Greek papyrus, 12 lines, Verso blank. Roman period.

1726 **KAW**: this item was published, and the text was reprinted as *SB* 5.7524. The text's present location is unknown.

1727 Greek document on papyrus, 21 lines in small quarto, with traces of folding and a few holes, written in a typical uncial hand that is not easy to decipher, concerning payment. Reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, between 169 - 180 C.E.

1728 Fragment of a Greek papyrus-book (Medical), 38 lines, incomplete at the end of each line. The Verso contains some lines in a cursive hand, many words underlined. The fragment consists of culinary or medical recipes. 6.75 x 1.5 inch.; first century B.C.E. - first century C.E.

1729 Fragment of a Greek papyrus-book (Philosophical or Rhetorical), 17 incomplete lines in fine writing. Fragment much incomplete; at any case it is a literary text. First century C.E.

1730 = #1606, q.v.

Rotulus 4 (1937):

1883 **KAW**: this item (also = *Rotulus 6*, #2351) is now *CLA* 11.1648, kept in the University of Indiana Library.

1884 Hom., Od., 1.223 - 230, first century B.C.E.; 2.125 x 1.5 inch., 8 incomplete lines. **KAW**: apparently not yet listed in the LDAB.

1885 Hom., Il., 21.567 - 581; first century C.E.; 6.5 x 4.5 inch., written across the lines, 15 incomplete lines, Verso with some contemporary annotations in Greek cursive (possibly written 50 years later). Leaf must have been found in the same place (Fayyum) as the Greek / Latin codex #1883. **KAW**: apparently not yet listed in the LDAB.

1886 **KAW**: the item was published, and the text reprinted as *SB* 20.14590 + Pack² 1189. It is now in a private American collection.

1887 *Tractatus Arithmeticus*. Fractions, extractions of roots, etc. Perhaps work of Hero of Alexandria. 2 cols., ca 4.5 x 3.5 inch. Roman, first / second century C.E.

1888 *Tragoediae* (Comodiae?) Fragmentum. 3.5 x 3 inches. 7 imperfect lines + fragment from another column. The fragment written in iambic trimeters is too small to make a full identification possible. The name Antigonos reminds one of the lovers of Penelope, first century C.E. The Verso contains 3 words beginning with ME (belonging to a vocabulary?, written in the third [?] century C.E.).

1889 **KAW**: the items was published, and the text reprinted as *SB* 26.16607 + Pack² 2274 (present location unknown; cf. above, n. 6).

1890 Christian liturgy? fourth / fifth century (purchased at Akhmim). 6.75 x 5 inch., Recto and Verso irregularly inscribed, many lacunas. The text is not magical and seems to be of liturgic nature. For one well acquainted with Old-Christian liturgies it might be possible to complete all the lacunas and to re-establish the text portions of which are numbered AA and AB. The name of the Saviour is abbreviated XP. See Plate IV. **KAW**: this is the same item as in *Rotulus* 5, #2192.

1891 **KAW**: the text is now P.Minnesota inv. 5, publ. in *BASP* 44 (2007) 50, text #2.

1892 Fragment of a private letter; 10 lines, Verso blank, 3 x 2.75 inch., third century C.E. Letter from 'brother Soërio' mentioning the girl Herakleia.

1893 **KAW**: the text is now P.Minnesota inv. 4, publ. in *BASP* 44 (2007) 48-50, text #1.

1894 Greek religious letter or text, written on the Recto, Verso inscribed with an Arabic text. 9 x 7 inch. Beginnings of first 5 lines incomplete. eighth century C.E. Contents unclear on account of corrupt Greek, but wordings as "Our soul, o brothers, embrace death, human being' remind of a religious text or at least a religious letter written in order to edify or to strengthen the addressee in Christian belief.

1897 = *Rotulus* 6, #2352: Drawing on papyrus, 4.75 x 2.25 inch., of a fish followed by a large bird (Ibis) which is pecking at another animal; fourth century, acquired in two parts at Heba (= Hibeh), not far from Oxyrhynchus.

1898 Medical (?) papyrus, 3.5 x 2.25 inch., second / third century C.E. 7 lines on Recto, 10 lines on Verso. The Verso contains words pertaining to a medical treatise, some possibly transliterations of Latin words. On the Recto another literary work that could not be identified. **KAW**: is this item identical with *Rotulus* 5, #2183 (q.v.)?

1899 Magical papyrus, 4.5 x 2.5 inch., fifth century; 5 (probably incomplete) lines on Recto only, magical words in large characters, with in the middle two ankh-figures on either side of the word ΙΑΩ. Probably an amulet. From Akhmim.

1899a,b Two mummy portraits from the Fayyum, first - third century. 14 x 7 and 14 x 7.5 inch. **KAW**: see below, n. 11.

2007 Greek papyrus 3 x 2.5 inches. Not quite complete. Roman period, 100 - 150 C.E.

2008 Greek papyrus 4 x 3.5 inches. 7 lines, upright cursive, early Byzantine, mid-fourth century.

Rotulus 5 (1949):

2178 Bilingual papyrus, third century B.C.E.; 10 x 9.5 cm, 2 lines of Greek Ptolemaic script followed by 2 lines in Demotic. (D12).

2179 **KAW**: this item (now in the RMO, Leiden) has been published, and its text reprinted as SB 8.9859 = *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues* 19.

2180 **KAW**: the item (now in the RMO, Leiden) has been published; see *P.Batav.* 40B.

2181 17 x 4.5 cm. Hom., Il., 2:863 - 877 (second century C.E.). 17 incomplete lines, with remaining letters of a preceding column. Writing much rubbed off. (G. 302). **KAW**: apparently this item is not yet listed in the LDAB.

2182 4.5 x 4.5 cm. Recto and Verso, extremely small and neat script. Apparently not from a complete roll of an epic poem, since at the top there is a blank space; a free space is also left between lines 1 and 2. Not Homer or Hesiod. (G. 136).

2183 3.5 x 2.5 inches. Recto: Hom., Il. 9:251 - 257 (second century C.E.), first letter and last letters of each line missing; Verso Medical, 10 lines of a somewhat posterior date, partly rubbed; the words are separated by blank spaces; probably a list of diseases with treatment. Amongst the diseases: erysipelas (i.e. a red eczema) and dropsy. There are several non-Greek words the terminations of which remind Latin words in Greek script, e.g. '(s)oukkoutatia' (Lat. *succutatio*), a medical term en vogue in post-classic times (cf. DuCange, *Lexicon*, 7.646, explained as *copiosa sanguinis detractio*). Translation: "..... every fourth day (probably four daily fever).... cooling (or shivering from the fever)..... red eczema,.... great blood-letting dropsy implements ????? ium.....um....." (G. 90). **KAW**: is this item identical with *Rotulus 4*, #1898 (q.v.)? Apparently it is not yet listed in the LDAB.

2184 Mythological, second century C.E. two sheets, (a) 6.75 x 2.5 and (b) 6.75 x 3.5 inch. Sheet 'a': 22 lines and 5 lines smaller script in the margin (scholion); sheet 'b': 20 lines. Sheet 'a', line 17, contains a division, the letter Delta (or Lambda) must have indicated the beginning of a new chapter. The sheets contain a list of mainly mythological proper names as found in the manuals of Apollodorus, Hyginus a.o., the whole context not being clear. The names do not represent genealogical tables the heroes of sheet 'a' and sheet 'b' being of the same generation. Sheet 'b' begins with the family of Tindareos and Leda, with Acamas, Aetolos, Thessalos we meet some eponymous heroes; the series is interrupted however by Nestor and some unknown heroes. The names are from the period of before the Trojan wars, hence the name of Aeneas in this series is unintelligible. Compare the list of the Argonauts and the partisans in the Calydonian hunt. Sheet 'b' also contains several of these names; the presence of Amarynceus and of many of the Pelasgi makes every relation incomprehensible. It is evident that the variants from the known texts are greater than the agreements and the whole papyrus still remains a puzzle. (G. 111).

2185 Dorian Lyric Poetry, first century C.E. Ca 3.5 x 1.25 inch., 15 lines. Very small and extremely neat writing, imperfect line beginnings and endings. Blank spaces between the seventh / eighth and the tenth / eleventh line dividing the text in three parts of 7, 3 and 5 lines, these being no doubt stanzas. Many words are preserved; an exact identification could however not be made. The word πνεύματα in l. 11 is mostly replaced by πνοιά in Lyric poetry (e.g. Pindarus) but not with the tragedies. The Dorian character is a.o. apparent from l. 7, λιπαράν.

2186 Leaina and Demetrius. Second century C.E. 1.5 x 1.25 inch., 7 imperfect lines. In l. 4 appears the word λέαινα ('lioness'), rare in literary texts and unique in the papyri. The word is sometimes used as a female proper name, especially adopted by hetaerai. One of the most celebrated λέαιναί is the concubine of Demetrius Poliorcetes, mentioned i.a. by Antiphon Fr. 4, Athenaeus XIII 577C-D, 596 F, and which is doubtless identical with the lioness in our text, as l. 6 in our text reads "[ω Δη[μητρῖ?]]. In the *Deipnosophistai* ("The Banquet of the Learned"), consisting of an immense mass of anecdotes and extracts from the ancient writers compiled by Athenaeus, a learned grammarian of the third century C.E. are some fragments of the "Chreiai" of the comicus Machon in which Leaina and Demetrius are dealt with in a humorist's manner. From the Chreiai we only possess a few extracts mentioned above (for these, cf. Machon [ed. A.F. Gow] *Fragm.* 12, ll. 168, 173. (G. 195). **KAW**: the relevance of the reference to Antiphon Fr. 4 seems doubtful.

2187 Historical Romance (?), fifth century C.E.; 8.5 x 10 cm. Recto and Verso inscribed. Apparently part of a codex, writing much rubbed, the words 'Alexander', 'king', 'Euphraates' on the Verso suggest an Alexander-romance. The name Isocrates on the Recto, however, does not support this suggestion, cf. Berve, *Prosopographie*. (G. 91).

2188 Greek / Demotic (?) Lexicon, late second century C.E.; ca. 6 x 6.5 cm. about 11 lines on Recto and 7 fragmentary lines on Verso, contains words beginning with PS-, interesting for the origin of Coptic. (G. 303).

2189 Magical, second century C.E.; 10 x 5.5 cm. 14 lines of small neat writing on Verso, much rubbed-off traces of writing on Recto; the right half and the bottom of the leaf are missing. The left hand is mentioned, something should be written whereafter a magical spell (logos) is to be uttered, with the name of Memphis. (G. 84).

2190 Magical, third / fourth century C.E.; 18 x 16 cm. Careless writing with a tendency to cursive, one broad column with remains of two other columns. The text tries to explain the hidden significance of the involuntary contractions of the muscles, e.g. if there is a contraction in the left arm, therefrom may arise gladness (?), if there is a contraction of the left muscle, great battles may be expected. (G. 221).

2191 **KAW**: this New Testament fragment (Jn. 10:25-26) is LDAB #2790, referring to van Haelst #0452 = Nestle-Aland #0258 (present location unknown).

2192 Religious (Christian), fifth century C.E.; ca. 16.5 x 12 cm. Recto and Verso irregularly in large script, with lacunas, the letters AA and AB suggest a division, probably part from a 'regula monachorum'. (G. 96; from Akhmim). Recto: '..... he is ambitious AAthe proper time for thee tothy mouthand beware of the cunning and erring people, etc. etc.' **KAW**: despite some variations in the description, this is the same item as in *Rotulus* 4, #1890.

2193 School exercise book, second century C.E.; 16 x 4.5 cm. Two columns, Verso inscribed. (G. 301). **KAW**: this item is now in an American private collection; cf. *ZPE* 119 (1997) 167, n. 1. Judging by the description it can hardly be identical with G. 301 = *Rotulus* 6, #2449, q.v.

2194 Letter, first century B.C.E.; ca. 8 x 9 cm, 7 imperfect lines, mention of the village of Mouchis. (G. 153).

2194a **KAW**: the text (G. 203) has been published; see *P.Batav.* 8 (Belasting-museum, Rotterdam).

2195 Private Letter, first century C.E.; 18 imperfect lines, letter of Serapion to Areis. (G. 39). Translation: "Serapion is greeting Areis. I've sent to you ---- take in silver as much as you like. I shall pay off the rest of the amount completely, I did not let them travel up into the country, today, And I pray you, to accept completely the remainder on the 9th in the early morning, before their departure. Do not reproach me, as I shall accompany them. And for the rest, stop talking nonsense! Farewell!"

2196 Contract, second century C.E.; ca. 8 x 4.5 cm, 8 lines. The text concerns an inheritance. (G. 82).

2197 **KAW**: this text (G. 210) has been published; see *P.Batav.* 11 (Belasting-museum, Rotterdam).

2198 Opening of a Contract, Oxyrhynchus, mid second century C.E.; 5.5 x 3.5 cm. 5 lines. (G. 144).

2199 Account or Register (on the Recto); Medical text (on the Verso), second century C.E.; 11 x 4.5 cm. Recto: 8 lines of cursive script; Verso: 13 lines in awkward bold script, enumerating several diseases of the head. (G. 54).

2200 Letter, late second / early third century C.E.; 6.5 x 7 cm, 7 lines, endings incomplete. Address on Verso. Probably letter to a steward. (G. 226).

2201 Letter, third century C.E.; incomplete, 9.5 x 8.5 cm. 13 lines with lacunas. Letter addressed to 'Petesouchos his brother'. (G. 34).

2202 Contract of Partnership (?), third century C.E.; 11 x 2 cm. 2 complete lines only. (G. 206).

2203 Private Letter, third century; 15 x 9 cm. 28 lines on Recto (+ 2 lines in the margin), address on the Verso. Letter to Alexander from his wife. Incomplete. (G. 36). Translation: "---- to Alexander greetings ---- my greetings ---- to your brothers ---- I gave, so that I ---- then, you did not send my my property which was in ---- which I had rendered unto the people I had sent by you. The daughter of your sister is angry with you since you gave her not even a small measure of olive oil. Why didn't you speak to Potamion: "Send for my son and you tell me nothing about this? Why didn't you provide me with means of support? Since my arrival Tananouphis (= Tapanouphis?, KAW) has given me one 'artakan' (= artaba?, KAW) of corn and one iakodion (quid?, KAW) of wine and

I am in complete need of everything. I have nothing. --- come here in person, in order to..... (Margin): I did not take the bronze to pay with (?). Many thanks to Senahouris. (Verso): Hand this over to Alexander from (his wife)."

2204 Christian private letter, early fourth century; 3.5 x 3 inches. Upright Byzantine script. Recto and Verso inscribed, portion missing. A Christian private letter from N.N. to his father Paulus, mentioning recent illness and thanking God for his recovery, and commanding (?) 5 'artakan' (= artabas?, **KAW**) and sending many greetings to various relatives and acquaintances among whom a brother Valerius, a sister Sophia, another sister N.N., a mother N.N., and mentioning a certain (Eu)phania and a man named Polemon. (G. 19).

2205 Declaration. sixth century; 12.6 x 9.5 cm. 6 lines. Declaration written and signed by Theodoros a letter-carrier apparently in connection with land and irrigation machinery. (G. 48).

2206 **KAW**: the text (G.27, now in the Belastingmuseum, Rotterdam) has been published; see *P.Batav.* 24.

2207 Account. seventh / eighth century; 10 x 4.7 cm. 10 lines, the first containing proper names; Verso with writing in another hand. Amongst the names: Ptolomais, Paphnoutios. (G. 11).

2261 **KAW**: this (unpublished) text is now in the Leiden Papyrological Institute, sine numero.

Rotulus 6 (1952):

2346 = *Rotulus 4*, #1886 (q.v.); the text (now in an American private collection) was published and reprinted as *SB 20.14590 + Pack² 1189*.

2347 "Shrines carried in procession". 13.5 x 6 cm, written across the fibers on both the Recto and Verso by the same scribe, incomplete and with lacunas. The Verso contains a document relating to the priests who carried the shrines in procession of some temple (the pastophoroi). There is a dating by an emperor whose name is lost. Handwriting of first century B.C.E., rather than of first century C.E. (reign of Augustus?). In the text on the Recto which is also connected with the priesthood occurs the name Armachdios (G. 94).

2349 Diary of Athenodorus. 12 x 8 cm. Dark brown papyrus written along the fibers, 9 lines, at the top and at the left a blank margin, serious lacuna in the middle part of the text. Portion of the official diary of the strategus Athenodorus of an unnamed nome, cf. *P.Oxy.* 1.37. The text mentions a 19th year, of

either Antoninus Pius (156 C.E.) or Marcus Aurelius (179 C.E.). (G. 231). **KAW:** the text is apparently still unpublished; the strategus Athenodorus must have been the homonymous strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome in the year 156; cf. J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 97 (attested only once!).

2350 Letter of Peculius, 18 x 9.3 cm, 4 lines, third century C.E. "Peculius greetings to his honorable brother Theopemptos. Give me for the wall 86 dr. (Dated) 30th of Pachon, good bye". **KAW:** the name Peculius is peculiar (and unattested!); was Pekysis intended?

2351 = *Rotulus* 4, #1883, q.v.

2352 = *Rotulus* 4, #1897, q.v.

2353 **KAW:** this collection of 12 individual documents is now in the University of Minnesota; see *BASP* 44 (2007) 39-72.

2447 4.5 x 4.5 inches. 9 incomplete lines. Ptolemaic script, personal description, from a marriage settlement (?). Cartonnage, from Upper-Egypt, third century B.C.E.

2448 Small fragment 2 lines, fine Ptolemaic script with the name of Dionysos. (G. 400 H).

2449 Fragment, ca 3 x 1.5 inch., 5 lines on Recto and 4 lines ("good bye" in 5 rows) on Verso in another script. Private letter (?), first century C.E. (G. 301). **KAW:** is this item identical with *Rotulus* 4, #2193 = (also) G. 301?

2450 Fragment, ca. 4.5 x 4.5 inch., 14 imperfect lines, Agreement related to land, date uncertain, perhaps 148/9 C.E., from the Fayyum. (G. 83).

2451 **KAW:** this (unpublished) Greek-Latin fragment of legal proceedings(?) is now kept in the University of Indiana Library.

2452 Ptolemaic script, ca. 3.5 x 3.5 inch., 1 imperfect line on large sheet, used as mummy-cartonnage and partly over-painted. From Luxor, second century B.C.E. (G. 429).

2453 Fragment, ca. 3 x 2.5 inch., Byzantine period. Collection of gold taxes, only the names of tax payers preserved. Stephanos, Pachemounos, Paulos, Germanos. On the other side remains of an account with sums in myriads of denarii; fifth century C.E. (G. 29).

2454 Fragment, 4 x 3.5 inch. 12 imperfect lines on Recto, 8 sloping lines on Verso account of money received, list of receipts with the amounts. Amongst the names: Isidorus ... son of Heracles, Pansis, Anouphis, Lasis, Moros son of; second century C.E. (G. 31).

2455 Fragment, 4.25 x 3 inch. From Melas and N.N. to N.N. agent of Zeno, apparently ordering 20 ells of ... and stating that the price had been deposited at the public bank. 7 lines, endings incomplete. fourth century C.E. (G. 127).

2456 Complete papyrus, 11.5 x 4.5 inch., 5 long lines in Byzantine cursive written all over the length. The writer informs his correspondent that he has dispatched Aphous the singularis, brother (?) of the exceptor Theodorus, with some donkeys to escort him on his journey up the river. Sixth century C.E. (G. 4).

2457 Seven fragments, apparently from the same document with the auto-graph signatures of the witnesses, for the sale of 12 arouras of land, signed at the bottom by the notary Elias, each fragment being ca. 5 inch. long. Byzantine cursive, sixth century C.E. (G. 125).

Rotulus 7 (1954):

2475 **KAW**: this text (see LDAB 3218) is now in the Beinecke Library, New Haven, CT.

2487 **KAW**: this text of Julius Paulus' *Sententiae* (= LDAB 3524 = Trismegistos 62359) is now in the Leiden University Library.

2523 Partial repayment of a loan. 15 x 3.8 cm., 21 lines, 1 or 2 letters missing at the LH side, ca. 12 letters missing at the RH side of each line, upper margin preserved, dated Year 10 of Domitian (= 91 C.E.). The original loan contract is referred to as a deed with six witnesses. Debtor: Onnophris, son of Harph<a>esis; creditor: Horos, a freedman, and his wife (?) Taharpagathes. (G. 501).

2524 **KAW**: the text has been published in *P.Select.* 24 (= P.Wegener 2), joining *P.Turner* 19 (G. 526).

2525 Account of payments on land; account of rental. 13.5 x 19.5 cm. Broken at top, blank margin of 2 cm at bottom, Recto with 3 columns of 14 lines each, rapid cursive. Only second column looks complete; Verso with blank space of 10.5 cm. at the LH side, then a single column of writing, lacunae. Egypt (Fayyum), with a date to the 22nd year of emperor Commodus = 182

C.E. Recto contains an account of payments of land, the village of Bacchias being mentioned and land belonging to the Alexandrians. Payments made by a.o. Ptolemaios son of Harph<a>esis, Deios son of Joilos (= Iulius or Zoilos?, KAW). Verso contains an account of rental received on Tybi 8 of the 22nd year of Commodus, with proper names like Peteresis, Sisois, Mythos, Orsenouphis, Thoulis. (G. 511).

2526 Census Return, 11.5 x 3.8 cm. Beginnings of 18 incomplete lines, from Oxyrhynchus, dated in the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius (= 131/2 or 145/6 C.E.) (G. 135). **KAW**: apparently the text has not yet been published (cf. the publication of two Oxyrynchite census returns from 147 CE [P.Lond. inv. 2187 and 2194] by R.S. Bagnall in *CdÉ* 69 [1994] 113ff.).

2584 Fragment, second century B.C.E. 2 small fragments with 9 and 5 imperfect lines each. Fine Ptolemaic script. Ca. 8 x 3.5 and 5 x 2.3 cm. (B. 5).

2585 First century B.C.E., 2 fragments, ca 12 x 4 and ca. 8 x 5 cm. Exceedingly small script on dark-brown papyrus by one single scribe, 15 & 12 lines, imperfect. Fragm. of a deed of sale (?) and concerning the sale of a house. (G. 218).

2586 Third century C.E. small fragment, 5 x 3.8 cm, 10 incomplete lines. Petition of a woman. (G. 180).

2587 Second / third century C.E., fragment 6 x 3.5 cm., 8 imperfect lines. Private letter, in l. 3: sollicitors. (G. 44).

2588 Third century C.E., fragment, 6 x 5.4 cm. 5 imperfect lines, letter with the name Aurelius. (G. 183).

2589 Fifth century C.E. 3.5 x 1.5 inch., 7 fragmentary lines, upright Byzantine cursive, letter or petition. (G. 140).

2590 Fourth/fifth century C.E. 2.5 x 4.75 inch., 3 lines containing the subscription to a contract with the monk Papnouthios. (G. 58).

2591 Third century C.E. fragment, 1.75 x 2.5 inch., 4 lines, cursive hand, incomplete, petition of a certain Ptolemy. (G. 131).

2592 Sixth century C.E. 1.25 x 2 inch., 3 lines, apparently complete, cursive hand, account of wine dated Mesore 1 seventh for a certain Kastor (G. 228).

2593 Third/fourth century C.E. Fragment, ca 4 x 3.5 inch., 12 incomplete lines, petition concerning taxes. (G. 37).

2594 Third century C.E. Literary? 13 x 5.5 cm. Ca 30 beginnings of lines, rather small book hand, faded and rubbed off in parts. (G. 87).

2595 Sixth century C.E. Fragment, 4.8 x 4 cm. Account, 3 lines Byzantine writing. (G. 51).

2596 Sixth century C.E. Fragment, 14.5 x 8.5 cm. 5 lines Byzantine cursive. (G. 207).

2597 Fourth/fifth century C.E. Fragmentary private letter, 12 x 7 cm, 3 imperfect lines of Byzantine writing, one line measuring 10 cm, the others broken off and now 3 cm. (G. 139). **KAW**: now in the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, Lawrence, KS; cf. the website <http://etext.ku.edu/view?docId=ksrlead/ksrl.sc.papyrusfragments.xml> (information kindly provided by G. Schwendner, Wichita, KS, to R. Dekker).

2598 Fourth and seventh century C.E. 2 scraps, 6 x 2 cm and 4.6 x 4.8 cm, 10 and 5 incomplete lines written on Recto and Verso each, from early Christian codices but not from New Testament. (G. 110 / 111).

2598a Sixth century C.E. 3.75 x 2 inch. 9 lines complete Byzantine cursive, account with amounts. (G. 15).

2599 Sixth century C.E. Fragment, 8 x 6 inch. 8 lines with a few lines on Verso, conclusion of legal document (sale or lease?). (G. 8).

The descriptions of the texts identified as “unpublished/location unknown” above may be classified as:

A. Literary:

Homer: 1884, 1885, 2181, 2183; see also below, p. 191, “Lijst 8,” #30.

Epic: 2182

Doric Lyric Poetry: 2185

Geographical: 1889

Historical Romance(?): 2187; cf. also 2186

Literary(?) Text: 2594

Medical: 1728, 2183, 2199

Magic: 1419 = 1508, 2189, 2190

Mythological: 2184

Philosophy or Rhetoric: 1729

- New Testament, Jn. 10.25-26: 2191
 Religious (Christian): 1890 = 2192
 Greek Demotic(?) Lexicon: 2188
- B. Documents (only a selection of the most frequently used terms):
 Account: 1894, 2199, 2207, 2453, 2454, 2525, 2592, 2595, 2598a
 Census Return: 2526
 Contract: 2196, 2198, 2202, 2590
 Diary of Athenodorus, *strategos* of the Oxyrhynchite nome in 156 CE: 2349
 Legal proceedings (bilingual): 2451
 Letters: 1502, 1506, 1607, (1726, 1886), 1892, 1894, 2195, 2200, 2201, 2203, 2204, 2350, 2449, 2588, 2589(?)
 Lists: 1507, 1609, 2454
 Loan, Repayment of: 2523
 Order: 2455
 Petition: 2586, 2589(?), 2591, 2593
- C. Drawing: 1897 = 2352
- D. Mummy portraits: 1899a & 1899 b¹¹

Supplement

E. von Scherling sometimes offered objects inscribed with Greek texts not in *Rotulus*, but in separate lists of objects offered for sale. Only a few of these lists have been preserved, mostly in the archives of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (cf. below, n. 20) from which the following data are copied:

Unnumbered list, added to *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 7 (1940):

#71 Wooden mummy label, 12.5 x 7 cm with Greek inscription, both Recto and Verso 3 lines: Senarsmephis (**KAW**: rather Senarememphis?), son (**KAW**: rather daughter!) of Haryotes, has erected this gravestone of his mother Senaryotis. From Akhmim, ca. second century B.C.E. (F. 4).

¹¹ O.E. Kaper (Leiden) kindly informs me that #1899b is listed by K. Parlasca and H.G. Frenz, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Serie B, vol. IV: Ritratti di mummie, Tavole 159-202, Numeri 675-1028 (Roma 2003) 82, plate 184, fig. 6. The object was once owned by Dr. Th.A.H.M. Dobbelman in Amsterdam and appeared in 1984 in Mainz (Germany) in the art trade.

#72 Wooden mummy label, 18.5 x 6 cm. ΠΑXYM. Depicted in Forrer, *Reallexikon der Altertümer*, pl. IV no. 3. From Akhmim, third / fourth century C.E. Now in Leiden, published as SB 14.14995; see ZPE 184 (2013) 257, sub #2.

#83 Greek papyrus. Order of Saraeus to N.N. banker to pay to the butcher Th(eon)as an amount of 24 drachmas. Dated 13 ... of the month Pharmouthi. 8 x 12 cm. Second century C.E.

List "Najaar 1945":

#6 Two fragments of Greek papyrus, 3.5 x 2 & 4 x 2.7 cm; 3 and 5 lines in nice uncial writing. First / second century C.E. (G. 233/34).

#7 Fragment of a Greek papyrus, ca. 15 x 2.5 cm; 9 incomplete lines in cursive writing. Third/fourth century C.E.

#8 Fragment of a Greek papyrus, Byzantine cursive writing, 5 incomplete lines, ca 10 x 5 cm. (G. 241).

#9 Greek papyrus letter from N.N. to his brother Petesouchos; 13 lines, ca 9.5 x 8.5 cm, lacunose. Second /third century C.E. (G. 34). **KAW** This is the same object as in *Rotulus* 5, #2201.

#12 Wooden mummy label, 3 lines Greek and 3 lines Demotic writing, 11.5 x 5 cm, ca. First century B.C.E. **KAW**: Maybe this is the same object as in List 11, #42 (cf. below) and in *Rotulus* 5, #2179 (*q.v.*)?

List 8:

#30 Papyrus, Hom., *Il.*, 1.267-276; small, damaged fragment, ca. 8.5 x 4 cm. Egypt, fifth century. **KAW**: this fragment appears to be still unknown.

List 9:

#1 = Now in Leiden, RMO inv. F 1948/3.1.

#2 =Now in Leiden, RMO inv. F 1948/3.2.

#3 Fragment of a list of names, ca. 2.5 x 10 cm, much damaged, several times entries for *Heron*, *Didymus* & *Irenaeus* (G. 109).

#4 Letter from NN. to Peteuris, 16 x 6.5 cm, ca. 20 lines, Verso with address, the end of the RH side is missing and rather damaged. In the closing part many

greetings to a *Demetrius rhetor*, *Dionysius the Hipparch*, *Andronicus*, etc. Dated in year 9 of the Emperor Caesar N.N. Sebastos on Choiak 20th. (G. 105).

#5 = Now in Leiden, RMO inv. F 1948/3.3.

#6 Magical papyrus (G. 84) Same text offered later in *Rotulus* 5, #2189.

#7 Invitation to the Kline of Sarapis; now in Nijmegen, Radboud University Library. The text has been published, see *SB* 18.13875 (at the time of the first publication it was not yet known from where the University had acquired this item).

#8 = Now in Leiden, RMO inv. F 1948/3.4.

#9 Letter to Alexander from his wife (G. 36) Same text offered later in *Rotulus* 5, #2203.

#10 Magical papyrus; now in Nijmegen, Radboud University Library. The text has been published, see. *SB* 18.13874 (at the time of the first publication it was not yet known from where the University had acquired this item).

#11 = Now in Leiden, RMO inv. F 1948/3.5.

#12 Fragment ca. 16 x 7 cm, Recto: account of bread (?), Verso stenography or message in code. Sixth - seventh century (1G).

List 11:

#42 Bilingual mummy label, 11.4 x 5.4 cm, 3 lines of Greek and 3 lines of Demotic: *Semphatres*, s. *Psennesos* x *Senpsennesis*, from Bompae (Panopolis,/ Akhmim, second / first century B.C.E.). **KAW**: this is the same object as in *Rotulus* 5, #2179, *q.v.*

#43 Greek wooden mummy label, 11.5 x 5.3 cm. 4 lines writing. *Tachomios* s. *Psenpnouthos* of his daughter *Trontnaios*. Collection Forrer. Panopolis/ Akhmim, second century B.C.E - first century C.E. **KAW**: cf. *SB* I 5388 = W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Mummienetikette*, Taf. XXV #72: Tachoumis daughter of Paoua|thios son of Trontnaiô(s) and | mother Senpnouthes (3 lines!).

[K.A. Worp]

*Part II: The Coptic Papyri in the von Scherling Papyrus Collection*¹²

The von Scherling collection also included a considerable number of Coptic papyri, which can be divided into two main groups. The Coptic manuscripts offered for sale in *Rotulus* 2-3 were acquired with the help of von Scherling's Egyptian correspondent or through purchases from an unspecified collection in Europe.¹³ It is unknown where they are now.

The second (very substantial) group of Coptic manuscripts was acquired in 1935/6, when von Scherling visited Egypt.¹⁴ At least some of the manuscripts were restored and "bound in red morocco" by Hugo Ibscher, a renowned papyrus conservator in the Berlin State Museum.¹⁵ Shortly before or in the year 1937 von Scherling introduced inventory numbers (C. 1-140?)¹⁶ and deposited one hundred papyri at Maggs Brothers of London. The auction company sent the collection to Walter E. Crum "to be described in 10 days and then taken to America to be sold,"¹⁷ but being unable to sell it, the Maggs Brothers returned it to von Scherling.¹⁸

Between 1937 and 1949 von Scherling did not publish any volume of *Rotulus*; instead, he issued sale lists, which also included Coptic (and Greek) papyri. For this purpose, new descriptions and transcripts were made by H. de Nie,

¹² I thank Dr. K.A. Worp for inviting me to write this contribution. Likewise, I am much indebted to Dr. Rob Demarée (Leiden University), Dr. Maarten Raven (National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden), and Elspeth Healey (Kenneth Spenser Research Library, University of Kansas) for helping me with locating ex-von Scherling papyri. Also, I would like to thank Dr. Gregg Schwendner (Wichita State University) for providing scans of the Robert Aitchison Papers relating to von Scherling papyri (cf. below, nn. 19, 22-23).

¹³ The Egyptian correspondent is mentioned in *Rotulus* 2, p. 58. The smaller purchases included *Rotulus* 3.2 ##1669 and 1696.

¹⁴ *Rotulus* 5 (1949), p. 3; cf. M.J. Bakker, A.V. Bakkers, and K.A. Worp in *BASP* 44 (2007) 41-42.

¹⁵ *Rotulus* 4, ##1895, 1896. Ibscher also restored several Greek papyri ##1883, 1885, 1886, 1889, 1890, 1894, 1898, 2351.

¹⁶ Several manuscripts in *Rotulus* 5 have different inventory numbers, such as C. + number / number + C. (passim; = text written on papyrus), *Rotulus* 5, #2227 = Ca. 18 (= manuscript written on paper) and *Rotulus* 5, #2218 = Cm. 6 (manuscript written on vellum).

¹⁷ S.J. Clackson, *Coptic and Greek Texts relating to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo* (Oxford 2000) 13 and 14, n. 73. Crum's notes, in CrPap Notebook 109 (unpublished), are kept at the Griffith Institute Archive in Oxford. They already include the C.-numbers.

¹⁸ Clackson (n. 17) 14.

who published two related pieces from the collection.¹⁹ The papyri acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden in the years 1941, 1942, 1946, and 1948 were selected from such sale lists.²⁰ Many of the remaining manuscripts, but not all of them, were offered for sale in *Rotulus* 5-7 (see below).²¹

One of von Scherling's contacts was Robert T. Aitchison, "an artist, collector, bibliophile and map maker" in Wichita (Kansas, USA),²² who showed an interest in Greek and Coptic texts. Judging from his correspondence, which is kept in Wichita State University, Aitchison certainly purchased three Coptic papyri in about September 1956, two months after von Scherling's death (16 July).²³ Their present location is unknown.

Some of the Coptic manuscripts are now in the Schøyen Collection (Oslo/London), the Leiden University Library and the National Museum of Antiquities (Leiden).²⁴ In order to facilitate retrieving the rest, the following checklist will present the Coptic items as described in *Rotulus*, followed by those that are not included in this journal, but certainly belonged to the von Scherling collection (cf. n. 20).

Rotulus 2 (1932):

1417 = *Rotulus* 3, #1725. 21 fragmentary leaves from a (Sahidic) Coptic Psalter on parchment. Various sizes, between ca 5.5 x 4.5 inch. and 2 x 2 inch. Uncial script. Two fragments contain Ps. 86.5-7, Ps. 87 Rubric + 1, Ps. 117.5-9, Ps. 106.24-27; the other fragments were not identified. Ca eighth century.

¹⁹ H. de Nie, "Coptica: een Koptisch-christelijke orakelvraag," *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 8 (1941) 615-618, pl. 32 (C.17, 49). Transcriptions of ex-von Scherling papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities (C.17, 49, 95) and Wichita State University (C. 27) are signed "d.N." At the time, De Nie was a student of theology in Leiden who was also interested in papyrology (cf. *P. Warren*, preface and text 21.29n. [p. 61]). Presumably he learnt Coptic from the Leiden Egyptologist A. de Buck.

²⁰ F 1941/12.3-5, F 1942/10.1-5, F. 1946/4.2-6, F. 1948/3.6-13. Two sale lists including i.a. Coptic and Greek papyri, "Najaar 1945" and "Lijst 9," are kept in archief 6.4.3/16 at the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden. Also enclosed are transcriptions made by Dr. Hans Schneider, conservator of the Egyptian department in 1968-1979 and director of the museum in 1979-1989.

²¹ In 1949 the National Museum of Antiquities acquired F 1949/4.1 = *Rotulus* 5, #2217.

²² On Robert Aitchison, see the website <http://specialcollections.wichita.edu/collections/ms/98-05/content.html#>.

²³ Robert Aitchison Papers (Box 1 FF 7). The papyri in question are *Rotulus* 5, #2251 (C. 27), #2256 (C. 36) and C. 68.

²⁴ See *Rotulus* 5, #2212a, 2212b, 2217 and most of the items listed below under "Not in *Rotulus*."

1418 Portion from a leaf of a (Bohairic) Coptic manuscript on parchment. 27 lines to the page, right margin with portion of text cut away. Uncial script, partly stained. Part of a sermon, beginning with: 'and he said to them ...'. Ninth century (?).

1499 Fragment of a Coptic letter in Mid-Egyptian dialect on papyrus. 9 x 4.5 inch. The letter concerns 'Father Phib ... apa Phib' and begins: 'with God, greetings'. The Verso is occupied by a Greek-Arabic account. Ninth century.

1500 Fragment of a Coptic magical (?) text on papyrus. 4 x 3.25. Written on one side only in uncials, 7 lines, incomplete. Eighth-ninth century.

1501 Leaf from a Coptic Synaxarion on paper. 11.875 x 7.25 inch. Leaf 12 from a Ms. containing Timoth. II 2, 4 ff. Seventeenth century or earlier.

Rotulus 3 (1933):

1602 Coptic ostrakon. 3 x 2 inch. 9 lines on the Recto, written in a small uncial hand, and 7 lines on the Verso, written in large uncials. Partly incomplete, but the Recto is well legible. Fragment from a private letter, beginning: 'My dear brother ...'. Sixth-eighth century.

1613 Coptic document on papyrus (fragment). 6 x 4.5 inch. Partly imperfect. Some lines written in the margins and Verso with some words in Arabic. Ninth century.

1614 Coptic homilies or Bible-fragments. Two fragments from different mss. on vellum, ca 4.5 x 2.5 and 4.5 x 1.5 inch. Fine early Coptic uncial writing. Imperfect with gaps. One fragment with numbering of page πγ (= 103), text on Recto and Verso. Sixth century.

1669 Fragment of a (Bohairic) Coptic liturgical text on stout vellum. 26 lines, partly imperfect and shrivelled. Tenth / eleventh century.

1696 Part of a Coptic document or letter on papyrus. 4 x 2.5 inch. 10 imperfect lines in cursive uncial letters, Verso blank. Seventh century.

1725 = *Rotulus 2*, #1417.

Rotulus 4 (1937):

1895 = *Rotulus 5*, #2225. **RD**: this item (= C. 127, an apocryphal Psalm) was published by L.-Th. Lefort, "Fragments d'apocryphes en copte- akhmîmique,"

Le Muséon 52 (1939) 1-7, Pl. I. In the year 1949 the Ms. was still in von Scherling's possession. Auctioned by Christie's on June 13, 2012, as one of the manuscripts that formerly belonged to the American dealer Lawrence Feinberg (d. 2009).²⁵

1896 (Akhmimic) Coptic theological work (translated from Greek). 7 leaves from a papyrus codex, 6.5 x 3 inch. Written Recto and Verso in a fine uncial script. Each leaf partly imperfect at the side-margin with loss of a portion of text. The last leaf, fol. 7, contains the colophon of the scribe, partly imperfect, its Verso is blank. The Ms. seems to be of a homiletic character. From Akhmim, fourth Century.

1956 Palimpsest, scrap on vellum. 3 x 2 inch. First writing a fine Greek uncial script of the fourth century, the second writing a Coptic magical text of the sixth century. Verso much faded. Fourth-sixth century. **RD**: this text is now kept under the signature MS NO Coptic 2 in McGill University, Montreal, Canada, and is published by Brice Jones in *ZPE* 184 (2013) 126-130. I am grateful to Mr. Jones for his personal communication.

2009 Fragment of a Coptic letter or document on papyrus. 3.75 x 3.5 inch. At the end the name 'Tiometre' (Demetrus?) occurs. Sixth / seventh century.

Rotulus 5 (1949):

2208 Acta martyrum. Fragment from a papyrus codex, 6 x 13.5 cm. Very legible Coptic uncial script on Verso and Recto, with 6 long lines on each page. Although the name of the martyr is lost, an exact identification might still be possible. The Emperor *Diocletian* is mentioned together with *Culcianus*, the notorious persecutor of the Christians (about 303 C.E.). Fifth / sixth century. ('G. 206' = C. 206?).

2209 Acta martyrum. Fragment from a papyrus codex, 7.5 x 6.5 cm. Very legible uncial script with a tendency to cursive. 10 incomplete lines on Verso, 8 on the Recto. The text has been divided into parts by horizontal strokes. Apparently the first part from an act of martyrdom: the mandate of a prefect against the church is mentioned. Sixth century. (C. 100).

²⁵ <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/books-manuscripts/a-very-early-manichae-an-psalm-text-5573307-details.aspx?pos=6&intObjectID=5573307&sid=&page=2>; for a discussion of the manuscript see also <http://alinsuciu.com/2012/05/31/christies-auction-of-an-early-christian-papyrus-document/> and A. Suciu, below, pp. 241-250.

2210 Gospel of St. Matthew, 20.21-28 (Bohairic). Leaf from a codex on vellum, more or less complete. 18 x 8 cm. Recto and Verso with 29 and 28 lines of bold uncial script. One initial letter marked red, a line at the foot and right hand margin with a few letters are missing. Sixth century. (Cm. 13).

2211 Liturgical text (Sahidic). Leaf from a vellum codex, upper part missing. 6.5 x 7.5 cm. 12 long lines on the Verso and 13 long lines on the Recto (faded). Small bold uncial script. The text contains the Anaphora of the Mass, the Praefatio in Greek, the Oratio with considerable variants. Fifth / sixth century. (Cm. 4).

2212a Acta Philippi et Petri (apocryphal, Sahidic). Leaf from a vellum codex, now measuring 33 x ca 19 cm. Double columns with 35 lines. Angular uncial script, black initial letters. Ninth / tenth century. (Cm. 11a). **RD**: this item is now in the Schøyen Collection (MS 2007).²⁶

2212b Acta Jacobi (apocryphal, Sahidic). Lower part from a leaf from the same codex, now measuring 15 x 15.5 cm. With 14 more or less complete lines of the first column on Verso and 15 faded lines from the second column on Recto. Ninth/tenth century. (Cm. 11b). **RD**: Acta Jacobi Zebedaei. This item is now in the Leiden University Library (Or. 14.331).²⁷

2213 Psalter (Sahidic). 4 vellum sheets: 11 x 14, 13 x 11, 8 x 9 and 2 x 4 cm. Large uncial script, long lines. Ps. 86.5-87.3, 87.5-10, Ps. 103.21-26, 31-55, Ps. 115 end, Ps. 116.1-2, Ps. 117. Seventh / eighth century. (Cm. 12).

2214 Homily on sins committed in youth. Fragment from a papyrus codex, consisting of the lower part from a leaf in folio, now measuring ca 11 x 18 cm. Double columns. Bold uncial script of decadent type. 14 complete and 18 incomplete lines of text. Seventh / eighth century. (C. 48).

2215 Greek / Coptic liturgical text. Leaf on papyrus, now measuring 12 x 7 cm, partly imperfect. 11 lines on the Verso in Greek sloping uncial script, and 14 lines of bold uncial script in Coptic on the Recto, in rather poor condition. Both Recto and Verso are of religious nature; the Greek lines consist of a hymn on the body of Christ, derived from the Athanasian Creed. Seventh / eighth century. (C. 26).

²⁶ See <http://www.schoyencollection.com/apocrypha.html>, scrolling on to MS 2007.

²⁷ See N. Kruit and J.J. Witkam, *A List of Coptic Manuscript Materials in the Papyrological Institute Leiden and in the Library of the University of Leiden* (Leiden 2000); also available at http://bc.ub.leidenuniv.nl/bc/tentoonstelling/Coptic_manuscript.htm.

2216 Liturgical text to be used on the occasion of a marriage. Three fragments from a vellum codex. 16 x 20, 13 x 13.5 & 7 x 4.5 cm. Written in sloping uncials, long lines on Recto and Verso. Ninth century. (Cm. 8). **RD**: auctioned by Sotheby's on July 6th, 2006 (Lot 36, x).

2217 Ascension of Jesaiah (apocryphal, Akhmimic). (C.126) **RD**: the Coptic text was published as #126 by Lefort in *Le Muséon* 52 (1939) 7-10, Pl. II; for the Greek account, see R.S. Bagnall, *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 31 (2002) p. 5, n. 16. This item is now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1949/4.1); in general, see Trismegistos #107888.

2218 Apocryphal text. 9 fragments on vellum, averaging in size between 7.5 x 4.5 and 2.5 x 2.5 cm. Verso and Recto with fine uncial script. Several proper names: *Epimachus*, *Paul* and *John*, *Jesaiah*, *Onias*, *Mozes*. Fragm. 5: 'the Christ said: I him, before the world, why'. Fourth / fifth century. (Cm. 6).

2219 Gospel of St. Luke, 13.6 (Sahidic). Fragment on vellum of irregular shape. Ca 5 x 4.5 cm. 8 incomplete lines of splendid calligraphy, uncial script, writing on Recto rubbed off. Fourth century.

2220 Psalter (Sahidic). 2 fragmentary leaves from a vellum codex. 11 x 4 and 11 x 6.5 cm. Recto and Verso with fine bold uncial script. 21 mutilated lines to the single column. End of Ps. 36-beginning of Ps. 37. Fifth century. (Cm. 15).

2221 Philippians 3.5-9. Fragmentary leaf from a small vellum codex. 8 x 4 cm. Complete although mutilated column, with 17 lines of a small and elegant uncial script on the Recto. Writing on Verso much rubbed off. Fifth century. **RD**: in the sale list of 1946, "Lijst 9," #13, this item is labelled Cm 3.

2222 '222'. Fragment on papyrus, 3.3 x 21 cm. Bold uncial script, 4 lines on Verso, Recto blank. Text: cf. *IKings* 1.13 and 17.4, *Ps.* 89.3, 4; *Ev.Matth.* 16.18-19 and *P.Mon.Ep.* II 606. Fifth / sixth century. (C. 77).

2223 'The story of the Lord, Moses and the burning bush', part from a homily or apocryphon? Sheet from a vellum codex, now measuring 16.5 x 2.5 cm. Double columns with fine bold uncial script. 5 lines on Recto and Verso. fifth century. (Cm. 14).

2224 Fragment of an obscure religious text on papyrus, ca 5 x 11.5 cm. 5 imperfect lines of careless uncial script of an uncommon and early type with

a tendency to cursive on Verso. Contents: 'It is I who is in need to be baptized to change when the Saviour was baptised.' Recto blank. Third / fourth century. (C. 23).

2225 = *Rotulus* 4, #1895 (*q.v.*).

2226 *Acta Andreae* ? (apocryphal). Fragment on papyrus, 4.5 x 4.5 cm. Elegant small uncial script. 8 and 9 lines on Verso and Recto respectively. The first and last lines from a column. Early fourth century. (C. 109).

2227 '228'. Liturgical text (Sahidic). Leaf on paper, lower and upper part missing. 10.5 x 13 cm. 14 lines on Verso, 13 lines on Recto. Sloping uncial script of decadent type. Ninth / tenth century. (Ca. 18).

2228 Liturgical text (Sahidic). Leaf from a paper codex, lower part missing, now measuring 12 x 10.5 cm. long lines of late uncial script, initial letters marked red and yellow, red rubric. Page 17/18 from a codex. Tenth / eleventh century. (1 C).

2229 Gospel of St. Mark, 6.41-7.12 (Bohairic). 6 leaves on European paper. 22.5 x 15.5 cm. Page 1-7 in a careless uncial script, 18 lines to the page; the remainder written in a beautiful uncial hand, with broad right hand margin apparently to leave space for an Arabic parallel text. Ca seventeenth century.

2230 Lectionary (Bohairic). 20 leaves on paper, folio. 17 long lines to the page. Late Coptic uncial script. Red rubrics, initials marked red. One zoomorphic initial (bird) in red, green and brown. Ca seventeenth century. **RD**: compare below, *Rotulus* 7, #2617.

2231 Magical, fragment on papyrus. 21 x 8 cm. Magical text on the Verso, written in a small uncial script, 16 and 7 lines, with magical signs. Right half missing. Invocation of Fanail, Gabriel, Souriel, Raphael and Maniel. Unidentified text on the Recto, 14 lines of cursive writing. Seventh / eighth century (C. 4 resp. C. 16). **RD**: auctioned by Sotheby's on July 6th, 2006 (Lot 35, iv): "two pieces [...] document, 100 x 75 and 118 x 80 mm."

2232 Magical, fragment on papyrus. 9.7 x 4.5 cm. 10 lines on the Verso, 1 on the Recto. Partly imperfect. Apparently part of a formula describing the magic to be performed in order to [gain the love of?] a woman. Recto: 'N.N., the daughter of [N.N.].' Verso: protected, oil, fruit (?), peach, myrtle. At the foot two lines with magical signs. Seventh century. (C. 3).

2233 Magical, fragment on papyrus. 5.5 x 7.5 cm. Recto: a fragmentary private letter of obscure contents in 5 lines of sloping uncials: '... And he will live ... a woman uses to ... a throne ...'. Verso: magical text, the right half and bottom are missing. 7 lines in good uncial script. Invocation of God the Almighty, the God of Israel, who is seated on the chariot of Cherubims (...). Fifth century. (C. 92).

2234 Magical, sheet on papyrus. 3.5 x 19 cm, the bottom missing and possibly the left hand margin with a few words. 4 lines of careless script, slightly rubbed off, Recto blank. A rare example of Coptic Revelation magic. 'Mys[tèrion]' in the left hand margin. Fifth century. (C. 89).

2235 Magical, fragment on papyrus. Ca 15 x 8 cm. Recto and Verso with 15 and 14 incomplete lines respectively. Careless uncial script. The names of the spirits Belouch, Barbarouch and Kabroucha occur, several magical signs. Seventh / eighth century. (C. 91). **RD**: auctioned by Sotheby's on July 6th, 2006 (Lot 36, v).

2236 Magical, sheet of papyrus. 8.5 x 18.5 cm. Recto: blank. Verso: upper part at the right hand missing, careless uncial slightly sloping script. [A garland?] of busc-thorn with roses is required; offering must be made of male incense, male mastich, storax from the sap of calamus, cassia-cinnamon; a mixture of balm-mint from Alexandria, Ethiopian balm-mint, serapias (orchis), wood of Abraham, myrthle. 'The holy prayer of [...] for the benefit of a person (?) who is very weak'. Seventh century. (C. 24).

2237 Magical, fragment on papyrus. 11 x 5 cm. Upper part and right half missing. 6 lines of sloping uncial script. By the Power of the Seven Vowels and by his knowing the Secret Name of God, the magician tries to submit the Deity (Sabaoth) to his will. Eighth century. (C. 107).

2238 Magical, complete leaf on paper, in quarto, 22.5 x 17 cm. 26 long lines on the Verso, 7 on the Recto. Careless uncial script. Mention of the Nicean Creed in a corrupt transcription, with magical signs and a large drawing. Coptic and Arabic annotations in blank spaces on the Recto. The Arabic words contain the beginning of Ps. 150. Thirteenth century or earlier. (C. 98).

2239 Letter. Ca 27.5 x 8 cm. 7 lines, fine sloping hand. Verso: the old-Christian monogram and 'the Holy Trinity'. There is question of *book-keeping*, and a list presented by *Pakoui* not agreeing with that produced by the lady *Charis-thenia*. Many uncommon words derived from the Greek. Not quite complete. Fourth century. (C. 47).

2240 Letter. Fragment, ca 16 x 10 cm. 14 mutilated lines in uncials with a tendency to cursive. Verso: 'hand this over to Comes (?)'. Fifth century. (C. 90).

2241 Agreement. 26 x 12 cm. Portion of an agreement with the subscriptions of *Victor Cyriacus* from *Apa Sai[...]*amon, and others. 7 Choiax, third indication. Fifth / sixth century. (C. 2). **RD**: Victor (son of) Kyriakos? Apa Sar[a-p]amon?

2242 Letter. Fragment, 11 x 4 cm. 3 lines on the Recto, 1 on the Verso. Clumsily written in uncials. Addressed to 'Theotimatos'. Fifth / sixth century. (C. 19).

2243 Account of wine. 9 x 11.5 cm. 8 lines of clumsily written uncials, on the Verso 5 lines in another Byzantine cursive. An account from a wine merchant with entries including sesam. Amongst the proper names: *Isak*, *Tahoure*, *Djebene*. Fifth / sixth century. (C. 15). **RD**: described by M. Kuhn in *Coptic Texts and Artifacts Hidden in Amsterdam: A Miniature Exhibition in the Alard Pierson Museum Amsterdam* (Seventh Int. Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden 2000) 27, no. 17. Now in the University Library of Amsterdam = UBA inv. 90.

2244 Letter. 37 x 6 cm. 4 very long lines in uncials with a tendency to cursive, not quite complete. Contents: '(...) And when he comes, *Serapammon*, thou shalt fill up a *sourouton* with wine and thou shalt send it to me together with him, and thou shalt send a *iubiton* (a garment) and a linen cloth to me. And may *Palan* (the white) stay with his work (...)'. Sixth century. (3 C.). **RD**: described by Kuhn (see preceding item) 28, no. 18. Now in the University Library of Amsterdam = UBA inv. 373.

2245 Agreement. Fragment, ca 23 x 4 cm. 4 fragmentary lines of clumsily written uncials. End of a contract with the signatures of witnesses, a.o. *Father Thomas*, *Apollo the Psalm-player*. sixth century (C. 85).

2246 Letter. Fragment, 11 x 5 cm. 8 lines of very neat cursive script, concerning the irrigation of land. Sixth century. (C. 10).

2247 List of proper names. 6.5 x 7.5 cm. 10 lines, neat cursive script. 'Anoup of Mankschik, *Paulus* of Ptolemais, *Taurine* ... from the king, the countryman of Psanlak(an?) ... *Makre* of Kanbouou, *Abel* of Apa Djoine, the son of John, Alauw of Apa Phoenix'. Seventh century. (C. 11). **RD**: mentioned in the Robert Aitchison Papers. Auctioned by Sotheby's on July 6th, 2006 (Lot 36, iv.).

2248 Letter. Fragment, ca 10 x 8 cm. 4 lines of clumsily written cursive script. Addressed to *Father Paulus*, 'the great man'. Seventh century. (C. 117).

2249 Letter / book-keeping. 16 x 10 cm. 4 lines of sloping uncials on the Recto, 13 lines in another hand on the Verso. Recto: mention of a convent, gold pieces, a date. Verso: numerous proper names: *Theodorus of Porb*, *Paulus* and his sons, *Psalties of Tajo*..., *Apollo of Peboot*, ...*amare* and his son, *Apa Philotheos*, *Zacharias*, ... of *Pseia*, with the amounts (nomismata). Seventh century. (C. 39).

2250 Agreement. 15 x 19 cm. 12 lines of very good cursive script. Undertaking as to limits of building, not to interfere with neighbors. *Eustathe* the teacher, a physician of Antinoë. Seventh / eighth century. (C. 45).

2251 **RD**: this item (= C.27) was mentioned in the Robert Aitchison Papers; it was purchased by him in 1956. Its present location is unknown. Its text was published by Clackson (n. 17) 55-56 as *P.Mon.Apollo 6* ("Ex-von Scherling 27").

2252 Letter. 14.5 x 7.5 cm. 7 imperfect lines of a neat cursive. 'the mother of *Isi*'. Seventh / eighth century. (C. 38). **RD**: sold at Sotheby's on July 6th, 2006 (Lot 35, vii).

2253 Letter. 21 x 13 cm. 6 lines, cursive script. Verso with address: to *Main-outi*, the beloved brother. About two canal workers and their wages. Proper names: *Philotheos*, *Apha*...*re John*. Seventh / eighth century. (C. 72).

2254 Letter. 19.5 x 11 cm. 7 lines of sloping uncial script. Verso: 'hand this over to *father Cyrus*'. Private letter relating to rebates on taxes. Seventh / eighth century. (C. 25).

2255 Agreement. 15 x 11 cm. 9 lines of good cursive script. Contract to work for a year, with an oath not to fail. Subscription of the scribe *Constantinus* and of *Georgios*, son of *Cyriacus*. Seventh / eighth century. (C. 29). **RD**: this item was mentioned in the Robert Aitchison Papers, but it was not purchased by Aitchison.

2256 Deed of guarantee / letter. 11.5 x 14 cm. Upright cursive script, somewhat faded on Recto, Verso with 6 lines of cursive in another hand. Recto: deed of guarantee or protection, promising not to make further demands of taxation. Verso: letter addressed to *Athanasius*. Not complete. Seventh / eighth

century. (C. 36). **RD**: the item is mentioned in the Robert Aitchison Papers; it was purchased by him in 1956. Its present location is unknown.

2257 Receipt. 8.5 x 7 cm, complete. 5 lines. Byzantine cursive, writing somewhat rubbed off. Receipt for payment made by monks of the monastery of *Ma-en-Hise; Onnophris*. Seventh / eighth century. (C. 6).

2258 Agreement. 14.5 x 5, incomplete. 5 lines of a good cursive. Agreement between monks, compare *P.Lond.Copt.* 437, *P.Ryl.Copt.* 127. Seventh / eighth century. (C. 37).

2259 Letter. 12.5 x 6.5 cm. Beginnings of 4 lines written in a good cursive: Verso: address to *Father John*. A certain *Andrew* is mentioned. Eighth century. (C. 99).

2262 Coptic papyrus, small fragment. Sixth century.

Rotulus 6 (1952):

2354 Account of wine. List of consignments. Papyrus, apparently complete except for the missing of a portion of the left upper part affecting 6 lines of the text. Part of the book-keeping in the month Phaophi. The consigner is apparently a monastery. The consignees are: *Apollo the carrier, Menas 'the White', Onnefer, Jacob the carrier*. Eighth century. (C. 32).

2355 List of personal names. Papyrus, apparently complete. 10 x 8.2 cm. 10 lines, semi-cursive legible script. Every name preceded by 'the lord' and two names by a cross: *Epimachus, Zacharias, Theodorus the presbyter* and his son, *Zosimus, Georgos the librarian, Phileas* with his son, *Menas*. Verso: 11 lines of a non-identified text in contemporary neat cursive. Fifth century. (C. 21).

2356 Account. Papyrus, complete. 6 x 5.6 cm. 6 lines of large bold script. Right hand margin missing with the loss of a few letters. 'Account of the money which I have laid out to *Theodosius the Alexandrian* more than (for) the house of *father James*: 5 *holokottinos* and a half'. Seventh century. (C. 138).

Rotulus 7 (1954):

2504 Coptic Psalter (Sahidic), Ps. 5.10-7.8. Sheet on vellum, now measuring ca. 17 x 10 cm (ca. 6.5 x 4 inch.). 30 long lines. Written in a good uncial script. Damaged in parts, stained and Verso somewhat rubbed, especially the beginning and ends of each line are damaged. Fifth century.

2505 Romans 13.1-14.4 (Sahidic). Fragmentary leaf from a vellum codex, now measuring ca. 15 x 13 cm (ca. 6 x 5 inch.). 2 columns of a small uncial hand. Stained in parts, very imperfect and mutilated. Fifth century.

2527 Private letter. Long sheet of papyrus. Complete, 34 x 3 cm. 2 very long lines of cursive script with abbreviations. Written by a skillful scribe. Concerning good and white wine to be delivered to *Roope* (?). There is question about 5 nomismata and about camels. Sixth century. (C. 55).

2528 Account of wine. Complete, 22 x 12.5 cm. Cursive script with many abbreviations. An annual account of wine from the village *Thallou*. One entry mentions wine delivered to the church (21 casks). Verso: few figures and measures. Seventh century. (C. 34).

2529 Account of corn. Lower part of a document on papyrus, 17.5 x 7 cm. Double columns. Sloping uncial script, with 6 complete lines. Several proper names and the word 'artakan', 'measure', although no quantities or amounts are mentioned. Mentioned: *Markus*, residing at *Pôrf*, apparently a large village in Upper Egypt; *Plistes*, *Pegôsh*. Seventh century. (C. 41).

2530 **RD**: this item was published by Clackson (n. 17) 107 as *P.Mon.Apollo* 40 ("Ex-von Scherling 44").

2531 Private letter? Papyrus, 9.5 x 5.5 cm. 9 fragmentary lines of a small neat cursive. A list of proper names: *Johannes* of Siût, *Kollouthios* (repeated), *Menas*, etc. With place names. Verso: *Jeremias*, his son (apparently the addressee), and *John*; a date. Sixth century. (C. 93).

2617 Lectionary. 27 leaves on paper, folio. 17 long lines to the page. Uncial script, red rubrics. Larger initials in black marked red, one colored brown and green (zoomorphic with a bird). Inner margin. **RD**: compare above, *Rotulus* 5, #2230.

2618 Euchologion. 6 leaves on stout paper. 13 lines to the page. Uncial script with larger red initial in reddish black. One heading added in Arabic. The leafs are connected.

2619 Euchologion. 7 leaves on paper. Coptic uncials somewhat carelessly written, and by at least 2 different hands.

2620 Euchologion. 6 leaves on paper (last blank). Arabic text throughout with rubrics in Coptic uncials and language. End of the book, the last 5 lines in Coptic. More recent than the other items.

Not in *Rotulus*:

C. 7 Account mentioning *Paul* the priest, *Antony* and others. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1948/3.12).²⁸

C. 10 (Not specified on the inventory card). Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1942/10.1). It is not the same as *Rotulus* 5, #2246 (also labeled C. 10).

C. 13 Letter to *Apa Paul* about money. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1946/4.4). Mentioned by Clackson (n. 17) 14, n. 73.

C. 17 Oracle question of *Paul*, a monk of the *Monastery of Apa Thomas* (near Siût); see also C. 49. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1946/4.6 [B]). Published by de Nie (n. 19) 615-618, pl. 32; cf. M.J. Raven, *Papyrus, van bies tot boekrol* (Zutphen 1982) 80-81.

C. 18 List of garments, etc. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1948/3.7).²⁹

C. 20 Document issued by *Ménasês*, the superior of the *Topos of Apa Apollo*. Published by Clackson (n. 17) 137 as *P.Mon.Apollo* 61 ("Ex-von Scherling 20"). Its present location is unknown.

"C20" "Tithe collection guarantees / contracts.' Three manuscripts written in different hands, which may have been joined together in antiquity. They are in the Schøyen Collection (P.Schøyen 1579/1). Published separately by Clackson (n. 17) 53-54, 56-57, and 60-61 as *P.Mon.Apollo* 5, 7, and 10 (cf. p. 13, § 2.7.2).

C. 31 Letter about a matter relating to *Jeremias*. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden. (F 1948/3.13).

C. 35 Letter from *Theodore* to *Victor* about cakes, fish and money. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1946/4.5).

C. 40 Letter containing a request to write a letter; "they committed a sin," "Sophia." Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1948/3.11).³⁰

²⁸For a photograph, see <http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=F+1948%2f3.12>.

²⁹For a photograph, see <http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=F+1948%2f3.7>.

³⁰For a photograph, see <http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=F+1948%2f3.11>.

C. 46 Letter from *Thuè* to *Asklèpios*. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1946/4.3).

C. 49 Oracle question of *Paul*, a monk of the *Monastery of Apa Thomas* (near Siût). Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1946/4.6 [A]). See also C. 17.

C. 50 Letter from *Paul* to his beloved father *John* about a vineyard. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1948/3.6).³¹

C. 54 Letter about sending camels. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1941/12.3).

C. 64 (Not specified on the inventory card). Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1942/10.2).

C. 68 Described by von Scherling in the Robert Aitchison Papers: "10 x 8 cm. 12 lines. incomplete but good preserved. peculiar uncial. Letter with Christian salutations or liturgical texts. 6th c. C.E." Transcript by "d.N": letter mentioning *Isidorus*. Purchased by Aitchison in 1956. Its present location is unknown.

C. 70 Document mentioning "the place of *Canah*." Partially cited in Clackson (n. 17) 14.

C. 74 Agreement between monks involving the son of *Chares*, the monk *Paul*, *Apollo* and *Apa Noum[enios]*. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1948/3.8).³²

C. 75 Account, a list of dates (i.e. the fruit). Mentioned in sale list "Lijst 9," #18.

C. 95 Letter from *Phoibammon*, the husbandman of *Gersan*, to *Apa Heracl[ion]*, in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1946/4.2). Mentioned in Clackson (n. 17) 14, n. 73.

C. 110 (Not specified on the inventory card). In the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1942/10.3).

C. 114 (Not specified on the inventory card). In the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1942/10.4).

³¹ For a photograph, see <http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=F+1948%2f3.6>.

³² For a photograph, see <http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=F+1948%2f3.8>.

C. 116 Letter from *Joseph*. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1948/3.10).

C. 118 (Not specified on the inventory card). In the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1941/12.5).

C. 119 (Not specified on the inventory card). In the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1942/10.5).

C. 120 Letter about a fight. Now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1948/3.9).³³

C. 125 Fragment mentioning “the ruler” (*hegemôn*) twice. In the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (F 1941/12.4).

C. 140 Fragment of a letter directed to “your benevolence.” Presently in the Leiden Papyrological Institute.³⁴

(C. ?) Document. 5.5 x 15.3 cm. Part of 4 lines of a list with quantities at the end of each line. Part of 3 lines on the Verso mentioning the *Monastery of Saint Kais*. Sold at Sotheby’s on July 6th, 2006 (lot 35, vi).

---- Extremity of a Coptic wooden cross, inscribed 11 lines. Ca 32 cm in length. From the collection of R. Forrer. Seventh century. **RD**: listed in E. von Scherling, “Lijst van Oud-Egyptische e.a. Kunstvoorwerpen,” *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 7 (1940) #74.

The texts, including those that are published and unpublished, can be classified as:

A. Literary:

Biblical:

OT Psalms 1417 = 1725 (Sah.), 2213 (Sah.), 2220 (Sah.), 2504 (Sah.)

NT Matthew 2210 (Boh.)

Mark 2229 (Boh.)

Luke 2219 (Sah.)

Romans 2505 (Sah.)

Philippians 2221

³³ For a photograph, see <http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=F+1948%2f3.9>.

³⁴ There is another Coptic papyrus in the Leiden Institute which may have belonged to the collection of E. von Scherling, however without carrying a recognizable C. inventory number.

Homiletic: 1418 (Boh.; sermon), 1614 (or Biblical?), 2214

Synaxarium: 1501

Liturgical: 1669 (Boh.), 2211 (Sah.), 2215 (Greek/Coptic),
2216, 2227 (Sah.), 2228 (Sah.), 2230 (Boh.), 2617, 2618, 2619,
2620.

Apocryphal:

Acta Andreae 2226?

Acta Jacobi 2212b (Sah.)

Acta Philippi et Petri 2212a (Sah.)

Ascension of Isaiah 2217 (Akhm.)

Psalm 1895 = 2225 (Akhm.)

Unspecified 2218

Acta Martyrum: 2208, 2209

Theological: 1896 (Akhm.)

Magical: 1500 (?), 2231, 2232, 2233 (V^o), 2234, 2235, 2236,
2237, 2238

Oracle Question: C. 17, C. 49

Religious (nature unclear) 2222, 2223, 2224

B. Documents:

Account: 2243, 2354, 2356, 2528, 2529; C. 7; C. 75

Agreement: 2241, 2245, 2250, 2251, 2255, 2258; C. 74,

Debt Acknowledgement: 2530

Deed of guarantee: 2256 (R^o)

Letters: 1499R^o (V^o: Greek/Arabic), 1602, 2233 (R^o), 2239, 2240, 2242,
2244, 2246, 2248, 2249, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2256 (V^o), 2259, 2527,
2531; C. 13, C. 31, C. 35, C. 40, C. 46, C. 50, C. 54, C. 95, C. 116, C.
120, C. 140

Lists: 2247, 2355; C. 18

Receipt for payment: 2257

“Tithe collection guarantees / contracts”: “C20”

Nature unclear: 1613 (Coptic/Arabic), 1696, 2009, 2262; C. 10, C. 20,
C. 64, C. 68, C. 70, C. 110, C. 114, C. 118, C. 119, C. 125.

[R. Dekker]

The Oxyrhynchus Distributions in America: Papyri and Ethics

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Abstract

This essay explores logistical and ethical ramifications of the distribution to institutions in the United States of Oxyrhynchus and other Egypt Exploration Fund papyri during the period 1900 to 1922, with a focus on the early years under the management of the colorful vice president of the EEF American Branch, William Copley Winslow.

I spent much of my youth studying the fragments of bookrolls from Oxyrhynchus, and I have long harbored a fascination with the curious fact that from 1900 to 1922 well over two thousand papyri excavated by the Egypt Exploration Fund were distributed to about a hundred universities, seminaries, colleges, and even schools in Great Britain, the United States, and elsewhere.¹ The reasons for the distributions of papyri to the likes of Yale and Princeton and Harvard were not hard to divine. In my youthful naiveté I readily imagined that the good folks in Oxford and London in clear-headed, far-sighted fashion saw the need for research universities in the United States to have study collections of papyri. But I had a harder time understanding some of the other distributions. Why the distributions to small private secondary schools in Britain, for instance? Was the papyrological head of steam that followed the discovery of, say, the *Athenaion Politeia* and the *Logia* of Jesus so pressurized that the com-

¹ The papyri were primarily from Oxyrhynchus but included also those published in the Graeco-Roman Memoirs from Hibeh (*PHib.*) and the Fayyum (*PFay.*). The distributions were itemized in *POxy.* vols. 4, 5, 11, 16; these were collected and updated in R.A. Coles, *Location-list of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri and of Other Greek Papyri Published by the Egypt Exploration Society* (London 1974), which is now maintained at Oxyrhynchus Online (<http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>). The exact institution count is 103, and the number of papyri closer to three thousand, but those gross counts include the Ashmolean Library at Oxford, which had long been the depository for the Oxyrhynchus papyri, thus not a “distribution” in any but notional terms. The papyrus collection has now moved to the Sackler Library.

mittee in London supposed a world in which British school children would need to be grounded in papyrological studies before they went to University? Did they really suppose that papyrological studies would be so vibrant over the next decades that there was a need for study collections of papyri in undergraduate colleges like Wellesley and Vassar? It was a charming if slightly bizarre idea, that Grenfell and his fellows in the Graeco-Roman branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund foresaw or at least hoped for a day when papyrological studies would be that deeply embedded in Classical studies, that normalized and unspecialized. I recall, vividly, working about twenty years ago at the cluttered desk of the librarian at Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pennsylvania, where I had gone to see their Oxyrhynchus fragments. The curator was of course very proud to have the papyrus collection in their modest college library – if also rather anxious about having anyone actually use it – but she seemed to be as amazed as I was that it was there at all. How, I thought at the time, did this come about? Why was it that this tiny college had garnered thirty-six(!) Oxyrhynchus papyri, including fragments of Apollonius, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Thucydides, Xenophon, Menander, the gospel of Matthew, New Testament Apocrypha, and even a scrap of Vergil? The simple answer is now readily available through the FAQ on the papyri loaded onto the Muhlenberg web site:²

Question: How did these papyri come to Muhlenberg College?

Answer: The excavations carried out by Bernard Pyne Grenfell and Arthur Surridge Hunt were supported by the Egypt Exploration Fund, to which many individuals contributed. Robert C[hisolm] Horn, a professor of the Greek Language and Literature at Muhlenberg College was one such contributor. Beginning in 1900, pieces of papyri were sent to subscribers in proportion to their contribution. In 1915, Professor Horn was sent thirty-six pieces of papyri from Oxyrhynchus, and thus they arrived at Muhlenberg.

But that answer raises some further questions, and may raise some eyebrows. What does it mean, exactly, that “pieces of papyri were sent to subscribers in proportion to their contribution”? A couple of recent articles – one by R.J. Schork in 2008, and the other by Kilian Fleischer in 2010 – have ferreted out a partial sketch of the back story to the Oxyrhynchus distribution using “museum archaeology” – that is, examination of the archives at the Egypt Exploration Fund at 3 Doughty Mews London (now the Egypt Exploration

² <http://www.muhlenberg.edu/library/papyri/faq.html>.

Society) and of the Grenfell and Hunt archives in the Sackler Library at Oxford, inquiries to curators, and review of the archives at certain US collections.³

I will concentrate on Schork's article, "The Singular Circumstance of an Errant Papyrus," which I think is more broadly instructive than it may at first appear. The gist of the article, written in a breezy magazine essay style, is an exposé of the early doings of the EEF, and particularly of the American Branch, founded in Boston and led by its energetic Back Bay⁴ vice president and honorary treasurer, Rev. Dr. William Copley Winslow. Much of the article revolves around the circus of personalities in the EEF, and on the "singularity" of the presentation by the EEF of a Homer papyrus⁵ to Winslow himself. Abiding themes in Schork's account are commercialism (which is certain) and corruption (which is insinuated without clear evidence). In particular, Schork, without making an explicit statement, leaves the impression that there was something improper in the fact that Winslow was both the person who managed the distributions on the American side, and the sole *individual* ever to receive one of the EEF papyri.⁶

Of the Muhlenberg collection, Schork writes:

According to campus tradition, Robert Chisholm [*sic*] Horn of the Classics Department sent an undisclosed contribution to further the mission of [the] Greco-Roman Branch. (Professor Horn was himself a student of papyri: he corresponded with Hunt at Oxford and wrote a

³ R.J. Schork, "The Singular Circumstance of an Errant Papyrus," *Arion* 16 (2008) 25-47; K. Fleischer, "Die Teilung von P. Oxy. III 448," *ZPE* 172 (2010) 201-202. Schork usually does not document or otherwise make clear exactly which resources he successfully consulted for specific information; but he lists these as his overall sources at p. 41. (Fleischer is more explicit.)

⁴ Winslow lived at 525 Beacon Street (429 in his youth).

⁵ *PFay.* 5, containing *Iliad* 1.402-447.

⁶ Schork proceeds very much by implication, though. He explicitly seems to say the opposite, but in such a sarcastic fashion that it gives the reader (or me at any rate) the impression that some sort of corruption is in play. See, e.g., Schork (n. 3) 40 where he writes of Winslow, who as he has already made amply clear is by no means a modest man, "The gift-papyrus .. was not listed in Winslow's public announcement of the first distribution in the periodical *Biblia*. I assume that this exclusion is due not to conspiratorial secrecy, but to the recipient's desire to hide the EEF's extraordinary gesture of appreciation for his administrative efforts under the bushel of modest silence." The papyrus gifted to Winslow is the "singular circumstance" of Schork's title. (Schork alludes mockingly to Winslow's affection for the adjective, which Winslow twice uses for headings, at p. 82 ["Singular Distribution of Ushabtis"] and p. 101 ["A Singular Consultation"] in his self-published monograph, *The Truth about the Egypt Exploration Fund* [Boston 1903].)

book on the uses of the subjunctive and optative moods in non-literary sources – not a best-seller, but an obvious motive for professional generosity.) The Fund's London archives indicate that on January 6, 1915, a packet of thirty-six papyri was dispatched to the Muhlenberg scholar. ... It is extraordinary that one of the largest single consignments of Oxyrhynchus papyri ever sent to an American institution went to this tiny Lutheran liberal arts college in the Lehigh Valley – its only competition in this narrow field comes from Harvard.⁷

This account puts part of the story *hysteron proteron*: in fact Horn, who was an instructor at Muhlenberg following the completion of his 1904 Harvard MA, wrote his *Use of the Subjunctive and Optative Moods in the Non-literary Papyri* in 1926, eleven years *after* the papyrus allotment, as a dissertation to complete a PhD at the University of Pennsylvania. He later rose to be head of the Classics Department, dean, vice president, and acting president of Muhlenberg College, locally that is a man of influence, connections, and, one can speculate, perhaps also some means.

The implications of the deprecating tone in Schork's Muhlenberg account are brought out more clearly elsewhere in the article. For example, after remarking (darkly) that Hamilton College was on the initial distribution list because Winslow was an alumnus of that college,⁸ Schork remarks of Vassar:

Why Vassar, then a small women's college – of some social vogue, but modest academic distinction – was selected to get four papyri in the first American distribution is also a puzzle. There appear to be no personal or family connections between the college in Poughkeepsie and the Winslows of Boston. Neither Dr. Winslow's wife nor his only daughter attended the school; Vassar did not award the scholarly paterfamilias an honorary degree. Perhaps one of the college's clas-

⁷ Schork (n. 3) 34.

⁸ Winslow endowed a lecture series in archaeology and three prizes (Greek, Latin, Romance Languages) that are still active; he also endowed a fund from which are currently appointed three professorial chairs (in Classics, Chemistry, and Physics): see *Hamilton Alumni Review* 9 [1944] 76; 18 [1953] 61; the summary of Winslow's will in Schork (n. 3) 43; and the Hamilton College web site, <http://googlebox.hamilton.edu>, searching for Winslow Lecture, Winslow Prize, Winslow Professor. The prospect that Winslow donated money to the EEF on behalf of his college (which also bestowed on him an honorary degree in 1886) seems very likely. Schork (n. 3) 39 mentions by the way that the gift of papyri were "in response to a donation by the Vice President of the American Branch," i.e. Winslow, but does not give particulars. (The Winslow letters in the Hamilton College archives do not mention such a donation.)

sics professors had a special interest in papyrology and that fact was known to the English and American committees.⁹

Now it is not my purpose here to argue against the colorful theme of personal corruption and hand-in-glove dealing. Where has there ever been a mix of antiquities and money without it? What interests me, rather, are the implications of some additional evidence that Schork does not consider, namely, the public advertisements and press releases of the EEF American Branch at the time. Some pleasant hours working in the historical archives of the *New York Times* and other newspapers of the period has turned up much more than we can begin to look at here, but a few illustrative examples will help clarify the larger picture.

The Egypt Exploration Fund was founded in 1882, and Winslow arranged the constitution of an American Branch under his leadership (as “Honorary Secretary”) shortly thereafter, in 1883. In 1889 the EEF voted to make a particularly fine presentation of artefacts to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, including several colossal pieces in red granite. These were accessed in 1891 and were among the first of what would eventually be a total of 2,455 pieces that came into the Boston museum from EEF distributions.¹⁰ In newspaper accounts of the London EEF meeting of 1889, several interesting points arise. First, the American Branch in Boston accounted for almost half – £1,200 of about £2,400¹¹ – of the funding of the annual excavation (at Bubastis) that produced these objects. This financial fact was cited explicitly by EEF founder Amelia Edwards in making the determination of the distribution, apparently over some opposition. Professor R.S. Poole, in supporting Miss Edwards’ position pointed out that “the American subscription was given in trust and entirely without conditions. It was therefore impossible for the society to do less than give them the best which they had to give.”¹²

As so often happens, this gentlemanly dance of *quid pro quo* turned quickly into an expectation, even a right. By 1897, a dispute had erupted in which

⁹ Schork (n. 3) 39.

¹⁰ The total is obtained from searching the Museum of Fine Arts on-line catalogue (<http://www.mfa.org/collections>) for “Egypt Exploration Fund subscription” under “Provenance.” The “Provenance/Ownership” field typically contains the phrasing, “assigned to the Egypt Exploration Fund in the division of finds by the government of Egypt, received by the MFA through subscription to the Egypt Exploration Fund,” followed by the accession date.

¹¹ Winslow (n. 6) 156. The *New York Times*, July 7, 1889, reports the annual expenditure as £2,563.

¹² *New York Times*, July 7, 1889.

the Americans, led by Winslow, “claim that they are not getting their share of the antiquities discovered in Egypt, and to which their large subscription entitles them.” The press account pointed out that the Americans over the past ten years had donated almost twice as much as the British (\$65,000 to \$35,000).¹³ But Winslow continued to raise money, and in 1900 he wrote a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* citing the monumental statues that had been presented to New York as well as Boston museums, and arguing that “no other archaeological society can enrich museums as can this society, *and in the case of Greece, the law forbids exportation of antiquities.*”¹⁴ Note that last. We will return to that in a moment. In another letter to the *New York Times* editor in the same year, Winslow was direct and explicit, “Our rule of distribution is this: Antiquities are now distributed among American museums pro rata of the subscriptions from their respective localities for the Egypt Exploration Fund.” This, he said, was the reason for distributions of artefacts to the Metropolitan Museum and of *papyri* to Columbia, Hamilton, and Vassar, “all within your state [of New York].” He concluded, “These are simply *practical fruits from our labors* and from the appeals the Times and other journals so generously make on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund, which annually calls for support.”¹⁵ Early the following year, the *New York Times* reported on the distribution of *papyri* to the University of Pennsylvania, “A Philadelphian last season sent to the EEF office in Boston a check for \$750, and Dr Winslow says that is why Philadelphia reaps so handsome a return in *papyri* as well as in antiquities.” Again, Winslow added in his press release, “All subscriptions to the explorations govern pro rata the distribution of the discoveries among the museums.”¹⁶ Seven hundred and fifty dollars may not seem a lot, but it

¹³ *New York Times*, February 21, 1897.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, April 13, 1900 (italics added).

¹⁵ *New York Times*, November 21, 1900 (italics added). Winslow’s account along with documentation at the EES archives makes clear that the American branch controlled which American institutions got which *papyri*: see esp. an EEF memo of November 13, 1903 with the heading “Distribution Committee for Greek Papyri,” which records “List submitted by Mr Grenfell, apportioning English shares to British Museum [etc.] ... ; the collective American share to the American Committee, accompanied by a list of aggregate subscriptions from localities.” This memo and other relevant documents in the EES archives were located and collected by Kilian Fleischer and kindly shared.

¹⁶ *New York Times*, February 27, 1901. “Antiquities are distributed pro rata of the subscriptions from their localities” or “in proportion to the funds received from their vicinity” (see letter by Winslow to the *Baltimore Sun*, March 26, 1901) becomes standard phrasing for subsequent press releases. This public policy line was maintained after Winslow was forced to step down in 1902. See e.g. the press release printed in several papers in February and March of 1911 (including *New York Times*, February

translated in the day to about £155, at a time when the total cost for a season at Oxyrhynchus ranged from £560-725;¹⁷ thus this unnamed Philadelphian paid for about *one quarter* of the excavation. Similarly, when Winslow wrote the editor of the *New York Times* about the distribution of 118 papyri early in 1901, he mentioned not only the \$750 from “a Philadelphia gentleman” but also a donation of \$123 from New Yorker Jacob H. Schiff, “which accounts for the extra papyri of [i.e. distributed to] Harvard.”¹⁸ Whatever else we make of all this, there was certainly nothing underhanded about the transaction. EEF policy was clear: you give us money, and we give your local museum antiquities, and your local (or designated) university or college papyri.¹⁹ For a brief

12, 1911; for a list, n. 30): “Antiquities brought to light and papyri, after translation, are presented to museums and universities pro rata of the subscriptions received from the various localities.”

¹⁷ D. Montserrat, “News Reports: The Excavations and Their Journalistic Coverage,” in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts*, ed. Alan K. Bowman et al. (London 2007) 31.

¹⁸ *New York Times*, January 3, 1901. Schiff, a millionaire banker and philanthropist, had close connections to Harvard, as indicated by his founding gift for the construction of Harvard’s Semitic Museum (*New York Times*, February 5, 1903). Worth remark is that Schiff’s brother-in-law was James Loeb, founder of Harvard’s Loeb Classical Library.

¹⁹ Cf. Winslow (n. 6) 90: “The collection at Philadelphia chiefly formed in this way: a certain sum, sometimes hundreds of dollars, is given by a person to the Society affiliated with the Fund and thus an entire case of antiquities is designated as presented by the E.E.F. through Ms Hearst or Mr Cramp or some one to the Museum. Mrs Stevenson informed me that that was her special method in securing funds and antiquities.” A history of the papyrus collection at the University of Pennsylvania gives a total of \$1,225 contributed by the Philadelphia-Pittsburgh chapter of the EEF between 1898 and 1908 and cites correspondence between the British secretary Cotton and the grand dame managing the fund-raising (Sara Yorke Stevenson) to the effect that papyri would be forthcoming in return for contributions: John R. Abercrombie, “A history of the acquisition of papyri and related written material in the University of Pennsylvania Museum,” 1980, published electronically and archived at http://www.sas.upenn.edu/religious_studies/rak/ppenn/paphist.htm. In the later distributions, the transaction was yet more explicit: in a set of correspondence uncovered by Kilian Fleischer in the Princeton collection, the Secretary of the American Branch, Marie Buckman, writes to the Princeton library offering for \$250 a “full share comprising a varied selection according to preservation, length of text and literary value” and for \$100 “a selection of representative texts” (letter of March 30, 1922). Princeton subscribed at the \$100 amount, but only on proviso that the distribution include Ptolemaic papyri, “Literary papyri of later period,” or papyri “described ... but not published in full text” (letter from “Assistant Librarian” Professor H.B. Van Hoesen of May 12, 1922), terms to which Buckman agreed (letter of May 15, 1922; cf. also Van Hoesen’s letter of April 10, 1922 and Buckman’s reply of April 12, 1922).

while the EEF even followed a practice of giving out small ancient Egyptian funerary figurines (known as *ushabti*) to subscribers. Again, nothing shady here: Winslow explicitly mentioned the *ushabti* as an inducement in the press release in which he celebrated 1900-1901 as the American Branch's most successful fundraising year.²⁰ As far as the more valuable items were concerned, no doubt there was a lot of insider jockeying as to who got what and on what grounds – for instance, we hear of another nasty squabble in 1901 when the folks in Pittsburgh objected that their donations hadn't been rewarded with an appropriate allocation for the Carnegie Museum²¹ – but in broad sketch there is no great mystery about the situation.

That then is a quick depiction of one part of the early history of the American Branch of the EEF and the early days of papyrus distribution. What are we to take away from this story? First to note is the astonishingly frank commercialism of it all, and the utter confidence, one wants to say arrogance, that informs the enterprise. To dig into that for a moment, let us return to the 1889 article from which I started, the one announcing one of the original distributions by EEF to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. That article cites an EEF resolution that says of the ongoing excavations, "Many persons were of opinion that the monuments discovered should remain in situ. But in Egypt sculptures when uncovered were *doomed to certain destruction at the hands of the Arab and the traveler, and were never safe until placed within the walls of a museum.*"²² That the occupation by the British is implicated is clear from the context: the same resolution makes reference in its first sentence to "the perpetual scandal that during our occupation of that country [i.e. Egypt] the

²⁰ "Many hundreds of *ushabti* (funerary images) have been presented to American subscribers, and a fine collection of objects of the greatest archaeological value and historic interest has been divided among the museums at Yale and the University of Pennsylvania, the Metropolitan and Boston Museums and others in the United States. Last Spring 118 papyri were distributed among university libraries. Another shipment of *ushabti* is also being made. It is hoped that more papyri will be ready for distribution by the close of 1901." *New York Sun*, August 22, 1901; *New York Times*, August 23, 1901; cf. Winslow's article in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 14, 1901. More on the *ushabti* in Winslow (n. 6) 82-89; Schork (n. 3) 26-28.

²¹ Winslow (n. 6) 93-95.

²² *New York Times*, July 7, 1889 (italics added). Cf. Winslow's letter to the editor of the *Boston Globe*, December 13, 1889, praising Amelia Edwards' recent US lecture tour and stating in that context, "the fellaheen, in enriching their fields with the earth of the historic mounds, are destroying, or scattering to the winds, invaluable secrets; and ... the iconoclastic Arab is irreparably mutilating historical monuments and records. ... England and the United States must ... go in and possess the land archaeologically. Let Boston be in the American van, financially."

monuments were being destroyed more rapidly than ever.” In our post-colonial era, some of the issues raised by such statements strike us as stark and clear. The export of Egyptian artefacts, from monumental sculpture to papyri, was done in a time when British troops occupied the country. Britain invaded Egypt in 1882. The Egypt Exploration Fund was founded in 1882. From 1882 until 1936 the British maintained considerable control, despite ups and downs and the formation of a so-called independent Egypt as early as 1922.²³ We get a sense of the character of the British occupation from an infamous episode in modern Egyptian history: the 1906 Denshawai incident, in which the shooting of domestic pigeons by British army officers escalated into a scuffle and the death of a frightened army officer who, in running away, succumbed to heat stroke. His death became the pretext for harsh repression – twenty-six public floggings, imprisonment to hard labor, and four summary executions – meant as deterrent to nationalistic resistance to British rule.²⁴ The attitudes towards “the Arab,” as reflected in the 1889 EEF resolution, are seen to be smugly contemptuous, and show that facile construction of the Other that we have learned to condemn. Winslow’s observation, in the *New York Times* letter quoted earlier, that “in the case of Greece, the law forbids exportation of antiquities,” can be put together with other remarks by him that speak with manifest pride to Winslow’s clear vision that the days when monumental objects could be taken out of Egypt were numbered – he writes that the years “1883 to 1891 were ‘years of plenty,’ monumentally” – and it was this foresight that energized Winslow to raise funds for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.²⁵ There is, that is, a strong

²³ The last British troops did not leave until 1952.

²⁴ George Bernard Shaw wrote of the incident at the time, “If her [England’s] empire means ruling the world as Denshawai has been ruled in 1906 – and that, I am afraid, is what the Empire does mean to the main body of our aristocratic-military caste and to our Jingo plutocrats – then there can be no more sacred and urgent political duty on earth than the disruption, defeat, and suppression of the Empire, and, incidentally, the humanization of its supporters....” From his “Preface for Politicians” to the play, *John Bull’s Other Island* (1907), reprinted in Bernard Shaw, *John Bull’s Other Island and Major Barbara* (New York 1918) lix.

²⁵ Speaking of “the *priceless* monumental objects in that collection [Museum of Fine Arts] from the Fund” Winslow explains: “For monumental objects of such size and beauty will not be allowed again to leave Egypt. From 1883 to 1891 were ‘years of plenty,’ monumentally, and I grasped the opportunity with all my energy, nobly supported by Miss Edwards. The new curator, Mr. Lythgoe, wrote in Jan’y, from Egypt, ‘that the time is not far distant when it will be practically an impossibility to hope to add to our collections to any considerable extent’ (Museum Report, p. 96). He refers to the *small* antiquities, such as have come from Abydos.” Winslow (n. 6) 153. Operationally, antiquities in Egypt were under control of the Antiquities Service (Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte)

reading by which the British and Americans were engaged in looting, in getting the objects, textual and otherwise, sequestered in western universities and museums in order to short-circuit the inevitable legal obstacles that *they knew* would arise as occupied Egypt gradually became more its own actor.²⁶

On the other hand, there were some significant pressures at play that complicate our evaluation of the situation. As papyrologists are well aware, there was a strong sense of urgency during the period on different grounds. As Turner quaintly puts it, “Egyptians, becoming aware of the potential of their agriculture and eager to improve it, treated ancient town sites as a source of ready-made fertilizer.”²⁷ Flinders Petrie, revisiting the site of Oxyrhynchus in 1922, found a railway laid down to the very mounds where Grenfell and Hunt had made their great literary finds; he wrote, “Every day a train of 100 or 150 tons of earth leaves the area.”²⁸ In a 1906 lecture given at Queen’s College, Grenfell, imagining a time in the future when “the occupation of Egypt stands before the bar of history,” supposed that Britain would be criticized for not taking more action to rescue “those tens of thousands of papyrus rolls which native diggers have destroyed in the last twenty years, beside which our whole collection pales into insignificance.”²⁹ A further sense of urgency was

which continued under French direction in the British era. The EEF resolution quoted in part above, together with Winslow’s letter quoted in n. 22, give an idea of the British take on their own responsibility for and control over the ancient artefacts. A history of the French role in this era of excavation and export is a desideratum.

²⁶ The now classic polemical essay on looting and the ethics of acquisition is C. Renfrew, *Loot, Legitimacy and Ownership: The Ethical Crisis in Archaeology* (London 2000). For the other side of that debate, see J.B. Cuno (ed.), *Whose Culture? The Promise of Museums and the Debate over Antiquities* (Princeton 2009), esp. the vigorous counterattack by John Boardman in that volume, 107–124. For an eloquent insistence on the historicizing perspective (“it is difficult to adjust modern terms to the morality of the past”), see the essay by David Wilson, the then-embattled director of the British Museum, in I. McBryde (ed.), *Who Owns the Past? Papers from the Annual Symposium of the Australian Academy of the Humanities* (Melbourne and New York 1985) 104.

²⁷ E.G. Turner, “The Graeco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Society,” repr. in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts*, ed. Alan K. Bowman et al. (London 2007) 17. The rich organic component in ancient rubbish mounds made for ready-to-hand soil enrichment.

²⁸ Turner (n. 27) 20–21.

²⁹ Lecture text quoted in Montserrat (n. 17) 39, from the archives of the EES. The dangers were not just from diggers for fertilizer; much was also being stolen for the commercial sale of papyri, as the preliminary study by Alain Martin of the presence of substantial numbers of Oxyrhynchus papyri on the open market shows: A. Martin, “Papyruskartell: The Papyri and the Movement of Antiquities,” in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts*, ed. Alan K. Bowman et al. (London 2007) 40–49.

also created by the construction of the Old Aswan Dam (sometimes known as the Low Dam), begun in 1898 and completed in 1902.³⁰ These external pressures were compounded by a chronic lack of funds to pursue the excavations. Grenfell and Hunt made use of extraordinary economies – in the first, 1897, season Grenfell received £50 to cover his stay in Egypt of five months, while Hunt received nothing; in 1906 after a run of extraordinarily fruitful seasons both Grenfell and Hunt offered to forego their expenses altogether, while the EEF was forced to take out a bank loan of £700 to cover the excavation costs.³¹ The financial situation of the Graeco-Roman branch was often precarious, if not desperate, and one can in this context see the money-grubbing in a rather different light. Off the record, papyrologists today will often remark that had the papyri not come out of Egypt at the turn of the century, substantial losses would have resulted from the lack of proper storage methods and facilities. I am not competent to assess that claim, but if it is valid, should our respect

³⁰ The dam as a threat to recovery of papyrus and other artefacts was already part of Winslow's narrative by 1901: see his letters in the *Baltimore Sun*, March 26, 1901 and in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 14, 1901. In 1905, Grenfell wrote the EEF Secretary suggesting that he and Hunt undertake an excavation in Nubia during the next season, since that area was about to be flooded by the Aswan dam (EES inv. VI e.3, cited in Montserrat [n. 17] 34). The raising of the height of the dam in 1907-1912 raised new fears. In 1911, Winslow's successor, Dwight Lathrop Elmendorf, sent out a press release, part of which read, "And now the crisis has come. Egypt, that has lain dormant so many years, must be reclaimed. It is an economic necessity. Even for archaeology the world cannot wait. The great dam erected at Assuan, ninety-five feet high, for storing up of the Nile waters, has sent the floods back over many of the sites of ancient culture. Old cities, temples and tombs are rapidly being submerged. ... Moreover, by infiltration the soil is rapidly becoming saturated. What has so long been preserved by the dry sand will now rapidly perish even before the rising waters flood the surface." (This press release – a funding solicitation, in effect – was printed widely, sometimes as a quotation within an article, and sometimes as a letter to the editor, e.g. *New York Times*, "Reclaiming Egypt," February 12, 1911; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, "Work of American Explorers in Excavating Ruins of Egypt," February 12, 1911; *Auburn Citizen*, "The Reclamation of Egypt," February 14, 1911; *Amsterdam Evening Recorder*, "Work of the Egypt Exploration Fund," February 17, 1911; *Baltimore Sun*, "Egypt is Being Reclaimed," February 19, 1911. A somewhat earlier expression of the same concerns appears in the *Boston Globe*, December 31, 1910.) As Peter van Minnen reminds me, the argument from urgency remains with us: see C. Gallazzi, "Trouvera-t-on encore des papyrus en 2042?" in *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists* (Copenhagen 1994) 131-135 (reprinted in a paper in the 2010 AIP Congress in Geneva) on the threat posed by the Aswan High Dam, and the August 29, 1992 resolution on this issue by the Association Internationale de Papyrologues.

³¹ Turner (n. 27) 18-19, 22; Montserrat (n. 17) 35.

for a people's right to control its own heritage entirely trump our interest in preservation of these precious ancient remains?

Moreover, there was, in fact, a strong sense of the educational value of the distribution of the papyri and other objects. My own early interest and education in Egypt largely devolves from exposure to the collections in New York and Boston, supplemented by picture books from the British Museum, and I would guess this is rather typical for Americans. Winslow wrote, "I ardently believe in the museum as an educator," labeling the Boston Museum of Fine Arts "the crown-jewel of the city's higher educational advantages," and quoted the president of the museum, who remarked how such a collection would over time "minister very largely to the cultivation of our people."³² As the general policy of distribution to institutions, not wealthy individuals, shows, these are not mere palliatives. Winslow labored from 1883 to 1902 to raise tens of thousands of dollars for the excavations, including significant contributions out of his own pocket,³³ without remuneration. Whatever arrogance we now detect in his cultural stance (one in any case entirely typical of his period), it is hard to see his life's work for the EEF as not fundamentally altruistic; he may well have been a boor (or bore) or an egoist, but he does not seem to have been a bad person engaged in actions that would have seemed unethical to most people of his time and culture. "Most" is not all, though: for example, the defensive rhetoric of the 1889 EEF resolution suggests some opposition – "Many persons were of opinion that the monuments discovered should remain in situ" – and perhaps also a sense of ethical unease.

The ethical considerations are, in short, rich, interesting, and challenging. The fact that some of the guardian institutions have been selling the papyri, at considerable sums and without stipulation of public access,³⁴ makes the subject particularly topical.

It strikes me that this messy, complicated picture is in many respects more fruitful for ethical inquiry than better-known cases like that of the Elgin marbles,³⁵ but as with the famous marbles, another angle is worth considering:

³² Winslow (n. 6) 153-154.

³³ E.g. \$375 donated to facilitate the distribution to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts of the "gold and sard scepter of King Khasekhemui of the second dynasty," Winslow (n. 6) 159. That same passage, in which he complains bitterly about the way that labels were handled by the museum curator, will give an impression of the peevish aspect to his personality. Winslow did accumulate considerable prestige and public recognition for his work, as his eight honorary degrees attest: Winslow (n. 6) 180.

³⁴ Some details in Schork (n. 3) 37-38.

³⁵ Discussion of the Elgin marbles revolves largely around the legalities, in any case. The bibliography on Lord Elgin and his marbles is vast. Valuable recent discussions

namely, the claim of a past inheritance that is “global” in significance and thus quite properly not the exclusive preserve of Greece or Egypt.³⁶ For the Greek literary papyri, the question may be formulated in particular terms. Literary papyrus finds generate significant press even in this presentist age, and garnered headlines in the early days: why? Why *are* we – not just professional Classicists, but the educated society at large – so interested in the discovery of papyri of Herodes or Bacchylides or Posidippus or Sappho? Is our passion for ancient poetry so strong? The answer to this is complex, since in part it has to do with hopes and expectations, sometimes fulfilled – such as the hope for new Christian texts (spectacularly fulfilled in the discovery of the *Logia* of Jesus) – and sometimes frustrated – such as the early hope for significant Hebrew texts³⁷ – and sometimes half and half – such as the hope for recovery of substantial new works by canonical authors like Aristotle and Sophocles. But a large part of the popular interest in the papyri has, I think, to do with how they fit into our constructions of Greek antiquity and its significance for modern Western society. It is not so much the intrinsic value of the *texts* but the fact that they are *Classical* texts that matters. In common perception, these papyri fit into story lines like the birth of tragedy, the beginnings of philosophy and historiography, the origins of personal love poetry, and the early history of Christianity. The literary papyri are not just recovered texts, but *artefacts* symbolic of the ancient world, and in particular are linked to perceptions of a Classical Greece that had shining white marble statues, a society that gave birth to *our* democracy and *our* ideas of civic responsibility and rights to freedom, existing in that “classical moment” in which the world was felt to be fully ordered by man’s measure of

include W. St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, 3rd rev. ed. (Oxford 1998); J.B. Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity? Museums and the Battle over Our Ancient Heritage* (Princeton, N.J. 2008); J.H. Merryman, *Thinking About the Elgin Marbles: Critical Essays on Cultural Property, Art and Law*, 2nd ed. (Alphen aan den Rijn 2009).

³⁶ See e.g. P.M. Messenger, *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?*, 2nd ed. (Albuquerque 1999); K. Fitz Gibbon, *Who Owns the Past? Cultural Policy, Cultural Property, and the Law* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2005); Cuno (n. 26).

³⁷ For the mindset, see, for example, this comment from an unnamed professor at Union Theological Seminary, quoted in the *New York Times*, November 17, 1903, as a reaction to the discovery of the *Logia* of Jesus: “What scholars are ever fondly hoping for, however, is the discovery of Hebrew papyri, for, as I think, the original Hebrew Gospels and, for instance, the Gospel of St. Matthew, with the commentary of Papias, a Christian of the second century, are still missing. Scholars are divided as to whether the original Gospels were written in Hebrew or Aramaic, but personally I incline to the former view.” The article is entitled, “The Logia at El-Hibeh: Text of New-Found Sayings of Christ Eagerly Awaited. Scripture Scholars Reluctant to Accept Interpretations at Variance with New Testament Texts.”

all things – a Golden Age that many contemporary scholars would say never was, or wasn't like that at least, but which continues unabated in the popular imagination. The story of the recovery of classical texts, just as the story of the Greek origins of democracy, deserves historical investigation and ideological interrogation, and is hardly an inquiry that should be limited to scholars of Greek or of papyrology. The line I have tried to tease out here is a small thread in a rich treasure trove of fascinating stories about the discovery, recovery, excavation, and politics of papyri. These stories strike me very much as teaching moments, as good vehicles for exploring the ways in which the classical scholar's trade – the recovery and understanding of the ancient past – intersects with the exigencies of a modern here and now, be that 1902 or 2011. How much of the notion that Greece is central to western culture has to do, directly, with Greece? And how much, rather, with the colonialist perceptions of the British Empire, with its (our?) eagerness to appropriate to itself a western "tradition" and "inheritance" founded upon an idealized ancient past?³⁸

³⁸I record here my warm thanks to Dirk Obbink, who shared and clarified much at an early stage; Kilian Fleischer, who generously made available valuable basic materials of his research; and Peter van Minnen, for helpful comments on an early draft. (My thanks do not imply these scholars' agreement with the views here expressed.) Parts of this work were presented at the University of Michigan at a conference entitled "Teaching Papyri: the Legacy of Traianos Gagos." I dedicate this paper to Traianos Gagos – without, again, implying that he would have agreed, though I am confident he would have enjoyed the challenge this set of arguments and evidence presents.

Notes on Various Texts Preserved on Papyrus

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Abstract

This article suggests minor amendments to *P.Oxy.* 4939, *P.Oxy.* 4943, and *P.Köln* 6.245 and identifies P.Berol. inv. 11520 as a collection of Aesopian fables.

1. *P.Oxy.* 4939

P.Oxy. 4939.2.19-20:

οὐδὲν ὁρᾶν [μ]έγα παιδί λ[ογ]ίξει· οὐ γὰρ . [(~)-x]
ἰμείρεις θανάτου, ἀχέων δ' ἄφαρ ὄφρα κ[ε] (~)-x]

The editor of this poem, A. Nodar, argues that “grammatically, we must assume that the infinitive ὁρᾶν depends on λογίξει, which would imply taking the infinitive absolutely, meaning to live, carry on living. Assuming that παιδί designates a slave, we should rather interpret the clause as drawing the moral of the story just told: ‘You see that life means nothing important to a slave.’”

In our view, λογίξει is more than doubtful. Even though the first letter is not legible, the beginning of the crossbar of a τ seems to be visible. We suggest τ[ι δ]ίξει, instead of both the λογίξει adopted by the editor, and the χ[α-ρ]ίξει proposed with reservations by P. Parsons in the commentary accompanying the text (p. 54). If our assumption is correct, the text would then translate: “even for a child it is not difficult to see what you really want.” The author of the text goes on to argue in the next verse that the man distressed by the death of his beloved girl is contemplating suicide, not because he really desires to die (ἰμείρεις θανάτου), but because he wishes to escape his torment. The verb ἰμείρεις of v. 20 seems to correspond to the verb δίζειι of v. 19, so the two verses become more balanced if our correction is adopted. We should bear in mind that δίζειι appears quite often in poetry, cf. e.g. Nonnus, *Paraphrasis evangelii Joannei* 4.135: τί δίζειι.

2. P.Oxy. 4943

P.Oxy. 4943.4-9: εἴτε διὰ / [τὸ Ἀπ]όλλων' ἐμφορηθῆναι / [μηδὲ]ν εἴτε διὰ μῆνιν τινα / [θᾶσσο]ν νόσου ἐμπεσοῦσης / [τὸν Α]πόλλωνα αἴτιον ἐνό- / [μισαν] οἱ λαοὶ εἶναι.

This text of Dictys Cretensis (*Bellum Troianum* 2.29-30) is translated by the editor as follows: “either because Apollo was not at all satisfied or due to wrath, a disease soon fell upon them and the soldiers considered Apollo to be responsible.” We doubt whether the phrase ἐμφορηθῆναι μηδέν can bear the meaning of inadequate satisfaction. With the Latin translation of Dictys in mind: *incertum alione casu an, uti omnibus videbatur, ira Apollonis morbus gravissimus exercitum invadit* ..., we propose the following supplements to the text: εἴτε διὰ / [τὸ]¹ ἄλλων ἐμφορηθῆναι / [αἰτιῶ]ν εἴτε διὰ μῆνιν τινα / [ἄθροο]ν νόσου ἐμπεσοῦσης. A parallel to the text is offered by Plutarch, *De Herodoti malignitate* 871C: Τῶν τοίνυν κατὰ Θεμιστοκλέους αἰτιῶν ἀνέδην ἐμφορηθεῖς. As for ἄθροον, this word means “overwhelmingly,” which is somewhat closer to the adjective *gravissimus* than the colorless θᾶσσον is.

3. P.Köln 6.245

P.Köln 6.245.32-33:

[.]ε δε[ι]νὴ γυμνάση Φρύγ[ας] Τύχη,

[. . . Ἐλ]ενος αὐτὴν ἠθέλησε πρὸς γάμους

The major editor of this tragic fragment, M. Parca,² suggests the following supplement for v. 32: [Ἰνα δ' ὥδ]ε (*exempli gratia*), citing in addition the supplements [Ως μὴ δ]έ or [Ἰνα μὴ δ]έ put forward by C. Austin³. Taking γυμναση to be a form of the subjunctive of the verb γυμνάω, the editor believes that we have here a subordinate clause of purpose. However, bearing in mind that Helen is called γυμνάς in v. 29 of the same text (if the reading of Haslam is correct⁴), we suggest the following reading of v. 32: [Ἢν δ' ἥδ]ε δεινὴ γυμνάς ἢ Φρυγ[ῶν] Τύχη (“that horrible, trained woman was the evil fate of the Phrygians”). As Parca points out, commenting on v. 29, the word γυμνάς, properly denoting the athletic training of a certain person, “can also convey the

¹ The space is less than the first editors indicate, supplementing [τὸ Ἀπ]όλλων'; this is a bit too long.

² M.G. Parca, *Ptocheia or Odysseus in Disguise at Troy* (P. Köln VI 245) (Atlanta, GA 1991).

³ Parca (n.2) 65.

⁴ Parca (n.2) 62.

sense of schooled in all aspects of life.”⁵ In our view the author used the word γυμνάς once more in. v. 32, echoing v. 29, where that word occurred for the first time. What comes before v. 32 in the text, is rather damaged and obscure, but the use of the particle δέ seems to support our position: these things (e.g. the death of Paris by Philoctetes) happened because of the γυμνάς; this γυμνάς was indeed the bad fate of the Phrygians! This particular δέ seems to have a connective force, introducing the expression of the indignation of the person involved for what took place before.⁶

On the personification of the fortune of an individual, see Cassius Dio (63.5.2.4): Σὺ (i.e. the emperor Nero) γάρ μοι καὶ μοῖρα εἶ καὶ τύχη. In the text under discussion Helen has become the personification of the bad fate of the Phrygians.

4. P.Berol. 11520↓ : A Collection of Aesop's Fables

Unknown provenance Fr. A + B: 29.5 × 17.5 cm Third century CE
Fr. C: 13.5 × 7 cm

P. Berol. 11520↓ consists of three third century CE papyrus fragments and was originally tentatively thought by W. Schubart and K. Preisendanz to be magical.⁷ Subsequently, W. Brashear classified it as *incertum*⁸ and H.G. Ioannidou⁹ has described it as “a narrative with magical content.” Prof. G. Parassoglou has suggested that it may be a collection of Aesopian fables. We therefore offer an amended transcription of the three fragments, which contain parts of two recognizable fables, Ἀνὴρ φέναξ in fragment C and col. 1 of fragments A + B and Χελώνη καὶ ἀετός in col. 2 of fragments A + B, and traces of at least another fable, following [ἄ]λλο . [in fragment B 2.18. For a physical description of the text, see H.G. Ioannidou (n. 9) in note 10.

Fr. C

— — —
] . [
] . ην . . [
]πιστα . . . [
]

⁵ Parca (n.2) 63.

⁶ See J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford 1934) 172.

⁷ PGM 2, p. 188, note 1.

⁸ ANRW 2.18.5 (1995) 3484.

⁹ H.G. Ioannidou, in B. Palme (ed.) *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologen-Kongresses* (Wien 2007) 313-320.

-] . τὴν ὑπ[όσ]χεσιν
 5] . ἀληθῶς βοῦν [
] τοιοῦτον ἀμ[
] ἀφειγμένος ε . [
] αὐτὸν ἐπιθεῖς . [
] ἐκαυσεν[.] . . [
 10] σαυτοῦ τ . . ν[
] ος ἀποδοῦν[
] υ ἐπιστὰς α[
 margin

Frs. A + B

Col. 1

-] . ἔφη ἐπὶ τῷ συντε-
] . π' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὔριν
] των ἀμοιβὰς ἀπολαμ-
] ν δεῖν οὖν αὐτὸν ἄμ' ἔω
 5] τα ἀράμενον σκαπάνην
] ον ἐλθεῖν δηλώσας τὸ χω-
] κᾶκεῖσε ἀνασκάπτειν
] γάρ σε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τρισχιλίας
] εἰσθε τε[.] ενίας τοῖς
 10] πὸ τοῦ θε[.] ὄναρ
] μα τῇ ὀρθρί[α
 ἀ] φειγμένος ἐπ[
] ανες[
] τῳ[
 15] ξπ[
] . . [.] μφ[
] . ν ἐπιστὰ[Fr. B
] κῳτα πε[] ς ἔφη οὔτε
] . μοι ἐπαγ[αγ]όμενος δηλῶ-
 20] σαι πότ[ερον τὸν ὡς [ἀλη]θῶς ἢ τὸν ἀπὸ
] στεάτων] βοῦν καύσεις [οὔτ]ε ἐγὼ σοι διε-
] σάφησα] πρότερον σκ[άπ]των ἢ πωλου-
] μενος ε]ύρησεις τὰς [δρα]χμὰς τρισχιλίας
] [] παταν περ[]
 margin

Col. 2

margin

μενοι λαθε[
 τε καὶ πάντ[
 ἄλλο . [
 ἵπτασθαι τη[
 ἀραμένη χελων[
 ρισαμένη καθε . [
 το αὐτοῦ ὅπως [
 διδάξῃ συνεχ[
 χλούμενος . [
 ὅτε ποτὲ . [
 καὶ μετεφ[
 φους καὶ [
 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐλ[
 ο . [. . .] τω . [
 τ[. . .] ουδε[
 ε[. . .] εσθαι[
 π[. . .] της[
 [ἄ]λλο . [
 / σ[
 / κ[
 ν[
 κ[
 ρ[
 τ[

Notes on Five Herodotean Papyri¹

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Abstract

In this article I discuss five Herodotean papyri, published by M.H. Chambers in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 48, under numbers 3373, 3374, 3381, 3382, 3383. I present my restorations of non-reconstructed readings, new supplements and new transcriptions of the passages I read differently from the editor.

Below I discuss five Herodotean papyri² (*P.Oxy.* 48.3373-3374 and 3381-3383),³ which I re-examined⁴ in my MA thesis ("The tradition of Herodotus' text in the light of papyri") at the University of Warsaw, and I propose some new supplements and readings of the most important passages which were not restored or, in my opinion, should be revised.

P.Oxy. 48.3373

M-P³ 462.2, TM 60038 (*Histories* 1.51-54)

III AD

The hand is a specimen of the formal "severe" style.

¹ I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my thesis supervisors, Professors Benedetto Bravo and Tomasz Derda for their continuous support and encouragement. I extend my thanks to two anonymous referees for their valuable comments that much improved the paper. All images courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and Imaging Papyri Project, University of Oxford.

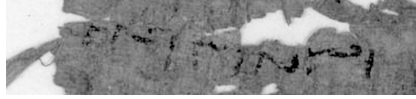
² On the papyri of Herodotus: P. Mertens, A. Strauss, "Les papyrus d'Hérodote," *ASNSP*, s. III, 22/4 (1992) 969-978; A. Bandiera, "Per un bilancio della tradizione papirologica delle Storie di Erodoto," *APF*, Beiheft 3 (1997) 49-56; S. West, "The Papyri of Herodotus," in D. Obbink, R. Rutherford (eds.), *Culture in Pieces* (Oxford 2011) 69-84.

³ All these papyri were edited by M.H. Chambers and published in 1981. For very good photographs see: <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>.

⁴ For other re-examined papyri of Herodotus, see my papers: "P. Oslo inv. 1487: A Herodotean Papyrus Re-edited," *JJP* 40 (2010) 153-160; "P. Oxy. XVII 2099: Evidence of an Early Split in the Tradition of Herodotus' text?" *JJP* 41 (2011) 93-102; "New readings in P. Oxy. XLVIII 3372," *ZPE* 182 (2012) 77-79; "Notes on P. Oxy. XLVIII 3376 (Herodotus II)," *ZPE* 182 (2012) 80-87.

Column i, line 31 (*Histories* 1.52). The editor prints:

31]ΕΝ . . . ΝΕΩΙ



The medieval tradition has: τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι καὶ Θηβέων (Reiske : Θηβαίων codd.) ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος. After examination of the papyrus, B. Bravo and I deciphered the traces as:

31 Θηβέων] ἐν τῷ νηῷ

The traces between ἐν and νηῷ are easily compatible with a *tau* (partially abraded) and then an *omega* (the editor's opinion that these traces "exclude *omega* in this hand" is perplexing – the ductus is almost identical to that of the *omega* in νηῷ). Under the left-hand arm of the *omega* there is an encrustation on the papyrus' surface.⁵ Then, after the *omega*, an upright suggesting an *iota*. The traces together fit the transmitted text.

P.Oxy. 48.3374 (*addenda* to P.Oxy. 17.2096)

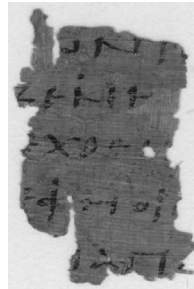
M-P³ 463, TM 60026 (*Histories* 1 *passim*)

II/III AD

The hand is an example of the formal "mixed" style.

Fragment 4, lines 4-5 (*Histories* 1.112.1). The editor's reconstruction (without ἄλλως) is rather unlikely. The *phi* of ἔφη and the *upsilon* of αὐτὰ align vertically⁶ – therefore the restoration should assume longer lines. The papyrus is: ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἷός τε εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιεῖν κτλ. I read as follows:

1 νάτ]ων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐ-
 χρή]ζε μη[δεμιῇ τέχ-
 νῃ] ἐκθεῖν[αί μιν· ὁ δὲ
 οὐκ] ἔφη οἷός τε εἶναι ἄλ-
 5 λως αὐ]τὰ πο[ιέειν· ἐπι-



3 ἐχθρ[εῖν]αι παρ.

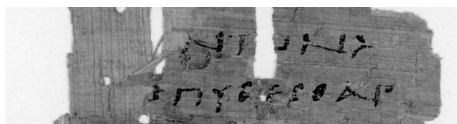
Fragment 7, column i, lines 24-25 (*Histories* 1.122.2). The line length is strangely uneven – usually there are 18-19 characters per line and never 14 (es-

⁵ *Prima facie* ink, but for similar encrustations see col. i, ll. 13-14.

⁶ This is impossible if ἄλλως was omitted.

pecially in two consecutive lines). Such a small number of letters is particularly suspect in l. 25, where characters are squeezed in (which is highly probably the result of a longer text that the transmitted one – in l. 24 all letters are broad and at the line end there is a space-filling sign >). The medieval tradition has: ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἶη (or ἐστὶ DRSV) παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κείθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. In the papyrus the lacuna is too large for the paradosis. I owe to my anonymous referee the idea of the following reconstruction:

24 πάντα λόγο]ν τῶν >
δορυφόρω]ν πυθέσθαι·



The meaning is the same: “in his journey from the city he found out the whole story from his escort.” The word δορυφόρος is common in Herodotus, e.g. *Histories* 1.59, 91, 113, and is surely the *lectio difficilior* – the copyists’ tendency to standardize similar passages might be the reason for changing δορυφόρων here to πομπῶν because of 1.121 πομποὺς δὲ ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω.

P.Oxy. 48.3381

M-P³ 480.1, TM 60024 (*Histories* 7.169-170)

II AD

The hand is an informal capital.

Lines 1-2 (*Histories* 7.169.2). Read:

1 ἔπεμψε μηνίω]ν δ[ακρύματα ὅτι
ο[ι] μ[ὲν οὐ] συνεξ]επ[ράξαντο



Line 1 was not restored in the *editio princeps*. The second of the (in the editor’s opinion) “indeterminate traces” can belong only to a *delta*: the horizontal dash at line-level is apparently the base of the letter.⁷ The first visible trace is the lower part of the left-hand hasta of a *nu*.

Line 2. The editor hesitantly proposes a similar to mine restoration in his commentary. I do not understand his reservations – the letters are clearly visible and perfectly fit the transmitted text.

⁷ *Prima facie* the trace could also belong to the lower part of the first upright of a *mu*, which is usually flattened to the left, however the space between the visible remnants is too wide for YM of δακρ]ύμ[ατα.

P.Oxy. 48.3382

M-P³ 480.2, TM 60028 (*Histories* 8.1)

II/III AD

The hand is an informal capital.

Column i, lines 1-4 (*Histories* 8.1). I can with confidence assert that this scrap preserves the beginning of the first two columns of the roll, because usually one book roll contains one book of the *Histories*. Assuming that the papyrus had a different division of books than the present is rather unlikely for the Roman Era.⁸ Therefore I read:

Column i

top

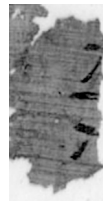
- 1 [ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται]
[γενέσθαι· Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς]
[τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχ-]
4 [θέντες ἦσαν οἶδε, Ἀθην]αῖοι
κτλ.

Column ii, lines 1-2 (*Histories* 8.3.2). The first line of this column is opposite l. 13 (10 in the *editio princeps*) of col. i – therefore there are 12 lines lost in col. ii. Since the height of columns in this book roll⁹ is ca. 24 cm and since the leading is ca. 0.5 cm, there are ca. 48 lines per column – cf. *P.Oxy.* 48.3373 and 3383. Therefore, there are ca. 48 lines between col. i, l. 13 (10 in the *ed.pr.*) and the first visible line in col. ii – which means that the fragment from column ii has to belong to 8.3.2.¹⁰ Regarding the *paragraphos*, these lines should be restored as follows:

Column ii

12 lines lost

- 1 [οὐς Λακεδαιμονίους· ἀλλὰ
[αὐτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο



⁸ Cf. for instance *P. Oxy.* 48.3383 (*Histories* 8.2-5); cf. also *P. Oxy.* 48.3376 (*Histories* 2 passim), where W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 281, established that fr. 1 (*Histories* 1.187) is from a different roll.

⁹ Cf. Johnson (n. 9) 203.

¹⁰ I calculate: 48 (the number of lines) x 22 (the average number of letters per line) = 1056 (which means that there are ca. 1100 /line-length varies/ letters between col. i, l. 13 and col. ii, l. 1).

Lines 1-2. For a similar, slanted *tau* cf. ἐπτά in col. i, l. 6 (3 *ed.pr.*) and Τροϊζ[ή]νιοι in col. i, l. 20 (17 *ed.pr.*).

P.Oxy. 48.3383

T-M³ 480.3, TM 60029 (*Histories* 8.2-5)

II/III AD

The hand is an example of the formal “mixed” style.

The lost text in col. i would occupy ca. 33 lines,¹¹ and the column would have ca. 48 lines – as would the second column.¹² Therefore, I assume that the first column preserved in the papyrus was also the first column of the roll.

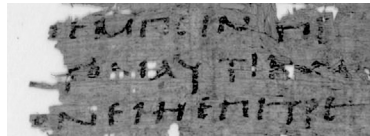
Column i, line 1 (*Histories* 8.2.2). This line is not reconstructed in the *editio princeps*. However, the visible traces are very characteristic and perfectly fit to the transmitted text. From the left: first is the lower arc of a circle; then the lower part of an upright, slightly descending below the line (which can belong only to an *iota* or *tau*); then the bottom of an oval letter; then, a short horizontal at line level; then the lower part of an upright; then an one character space; then, above the second *alpha* of ἀλλά, there is a trace of the shank of a letter descending below l. 1 (which can belong only to a *rho*, *upsilon*, *phi* or *psi*). I read ll. 1-2 as follows:¹³

1 νεύη(ι) Ἀθην]αίροις [ἐ]ψ[εσθαι]
ἡγεομέ]γοιςιν ἀλλὰ λύνειν



Column i, line 6. (*Histories* 8.3.1). The editor notes that “space suggest that the papyrus omitted τήν” and prints:

5 η και εκ Σικελιην] πεμπειν [ε]πι
συμμαχιν ω]ς το ναυτικον
Αθηναίοιςι χρεον ειη επιτρε



The paradosis is: ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ’ ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ (οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν DRSV) συμμαχίην, ὥς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοιςι χρεὸν εἶη ἐπιτρέπειν.

¹¹ From the beginning of Book 8 to the visible text in col. i there are ca. 800 letters.

¹² Judging from the text, which is lost between the last line of col. i and the first visible line of col. ii the second column has ca. 48 lines.

¹³ *Iota mutum* in ἡγεμο|νεύη was probably omitted; cf. col. ii, l. 3 Εὐρυ]βιάδη instead of Εὐρυβιάδη.

Unfortunately, it cannot be excluded that the papyrus had the incorrect expression ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίην: there are from 19 to 26 letters per line and the gaps in ll. 4-8, although similar in width, contain from 11 to 14 letters. Therefore the papyrus' reading in l. 6 cannot be established.

One More Footnote to “Two More Pages”¹

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Abstract

A footnote to A. Pietersma and S. Comstock, “Two More Pages of Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193,” *BASP* 48 (2011) 27-46.

Thanks to a tip from Professor John Lee about the Holy Week liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Church, we can now add a footnote to our recent article about Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193.

As noted there, Tractate 5, assigned page 126.2-6, refers to Mt. 25:1-13, the parable of the ten virgins waiting for the bridegroom, an illustration of the theme of watchfulness. If Tractate 5, like the other documents in the codex by *communis opinio*, is a paschal document, this reference may take on added significance, since the link between Holy Week celebrations and Jesus’ παρουσία is, apparently, an ancient one. It appears that the use of Mt. 25:1-13 in a liturgical context and in the Coptic language is at least as old as the fifth century.

Toward the end of the preceding, fourth, century, the journal of Egeria relates that the entire final discourse of Jesus on Mt. Olivet (Mt. 24:4-25:46) was read on Tuesday of Holy Week² at the Jerusalem Church, one of the most influential churches in the East.³ The discourse, including the parable of the ten virgins, was therefore not only accorded its standard eschatological interpretation but, as well, had become, at some point, part of the liturgy for Holy Week.⁴

A further use of the parable of the ten virgins – this time in Greek – occurs in *PSI* 1.65 (536/7).⁵ Not surprisingly in light of Mt. 25:13, the hortatory tone of this text is similar to that of Tractate 5. While the former reads: “Whence

¹ We thank Professor Lee for his inspiration, and Fr. Ugo Zanetti and Dr. Helene Moussa for their generous assistance.

² Pierre Maraval, *Égérie, Journal de voyage (Itinéraire)*, 2d ed. (Paris 2002).

³ For its influence on Byzantine rites, cf. Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2d ed. (Oxford 1980) ch. 5.

⁴ John Walton Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week: Its Services and Ceremonial* (Oxford 1932) 37. (Tyrer includes confirming evidence for Egeria’s account.)

⁵ Leslie S.B. MacCoull, “Sleepers Awake: More Light on *PSI* I 65,” *Le Muséon* 121 (2008) 1-10, here 2.

let us, the faithful, be watchful, with lamps burning bright with oil, so as to appear with great joy before the bridegroom and go with him into God's bridal chamber (ll. 11-15),⁶ the latter has: "Let the virgins keep their lamps filled daily, and let them watch and see to it that they come to be with the bridegroom."⁷ Whether *PSI* 1.65 is a liturgical document is more difficult to say.

From the same century as *PSI* 1.65 come two other Greek texts. Among the *kontakia* (metrical sermons chanted to music) of Romanos Melodos (ca. 540) are two that are based on the parable of the ten virgins, nos. 31 and 51 in the edition of Grosdidier de Matons.⁸ Both pertain to Tuesday of Holy Week and both are, therefore, of liturgical importance.

Burmester in his edition of the liturgy of Coptic Holy Week lists Mt. 25:1-13 for two separate days.⁹ Whereas all but one manuscript put it at the sixth hour of the eve of Holy Wednesday (therefore, Tuesday at midnight), the oldest manuscript, which also serves as Burmester's lemma, namely, British Museum Add. 5997,¹⁰ puts the reading as well at the ninth hour on Holy Tuesday (therefore, Tuesday at fifteen hours). The former agrees with the liturgy of the modern Coptic Orthodox Church.¹¹

The most elaborate liturgy is that used in the Greek Orthodox Church, which includes the so-called Service of the Bridegroom (Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Νυμφίου) for Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Holy Week, but observed in each case on the evening prior, given that the liturgical day begins at six o'clock on the preceding day. The three days constitute a distinctive liturgical unit. The Service of the Bridegroom begins on the evening of Palm Sunday, with the procession of the Νυμφίος icon into the church (where it remains until Maundy Thursday) and ends with Tuesday evening. Central to the Service is the following hymn (τροπάριον), performed during the procession:

Ἰδοῦ, ὁ Νυμφίος ἔρχεται ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς νυκτός, καὶ μακάριος ὁ
δοῦλος, ὃν εὐρήσει γρηγοροῦντα, ἀνάξιος δὲ πάλιν, ὃν εὐρήσει

⁶ ὅθεν οἱ πιστοὶ γρηγοροῦντες ἐσώμεθα λαμπάδες ἡμῶν φωτιναὶ ἐν ἐλαίῳ ὡς περιχαρεῖς τῷ νυμφίῳ φαινόμενοι συνεισέλθωμεν εἰς τὴν παστάδα τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ (ll. 11-15). Cf. MacCoull (n. 5) 2.

⁷ ΜΑΡΕΝΙΠΑΡΘ[Ε]ΝΟΣ ΚΑ ΝΕΥΛΑΜΠΑΣ ΕΥΜΟΥΣ ΜΗΜΗΝΕ ΝΕΡΟΕΙΣ ΝΕΣΑΡΗΖ ΧΕ ΕΥΛΑΦΩΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΑ ΤΩΕΛΕΤ (page 126.2-6).

⁸ José Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes* 4 (Paris 1965) 324-365 and 5 (Paris 1981) 296-327 respectively.

⁹ O.H.E. Burmester, "Le lectionnaire de la semaine sainte," in *Patrologia Orientalis* 24:174-294 and 25:179-485, here 478.

¹⁰ Burmester's siglum is L. The date is 1273.

¹¹ The Coptic Orthodox Church of Saint Mark, *Holy Pascha: Order of Holy Week Services in the Coptic Orthodox Church*, 2d ed. (New Jersey 2004) 204-205.

ῥαθυμοῦντα. Βλέπε οὖν ψυχὴ μου, μὴ τῷ ὕπνῳ κατενεχθῆς, ἵνα μὴ τῷ θανάτῳ παραδοθῆς, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἔξῳ κλεισθῆς· ἀλλὰ ἀνάνησον κρᾶζουσα· Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος εἶ ὁ Θεός, διὰ τῆς Θεοτόκου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Behold, the Bridegroom comes in the middle of the night, and blessed is that servant whom he finds watching; but unworthy is the one whom he finds slothful. Take care then, my soul, not to be overcome with sleep, lest you be given up to death, and be shut out of the kingdom; but rouse yourself and cry: Holy, holy, holy are you, O God; through the Mother of God, have mercy on us.¹²

The hymn is of uncertain authorship and date, although tradition ascribes it to John of Damascus (ca. 675-749). If or when the Service of the Bridegroom was introduced into the Greek Orthodox liturgy of Holy Week is also uncertain.

Possibly even older than its use in the liturgy of Holy Week is the use of Mt. 25:1-13 in the so-called Mesonyktikon, or midnight service, celebrated during the regular non-paschal year. This too is celebrated in the modern Coptic Orthodox Church.¹³

All in all, there can be little doubt that in Tractate 5 we find the same association of the παρουσία with Holy Week as we find in a number of other sources. What this link means more precisely in historical terms lies beyond both the scope of this footnote and the competence of its authors.

One additional point may be made about Tractate 5. The first word on page 128.10b should almost certainly be read as ἀναγ, the imperative of ναγ (“to see”). The scribe was in the process of writing γ, when he corrected himself by making it into the second (squeezed) λ. The sense of ἀναγ (perhaps followed by χε) is likely that of βλέπε (οὖν) in the hymn of the bridegroom. The series of four Old Testament paradigms (Noah, Joseph, Moses, Daniel) has apparently come to an end, and on page 128.10b the chanter resumes his directives or admonitions: “See to it that ...” How “three” fits into this context remains uncertain. To be sure, liturgical repetitions are common, and the Greek Orthodox

¹² Translation by Archimandrite Ephrem Lash in St. Romanos the Melodist, *On the Life of Christ: Kontakia* (San Francisco 1995).

¹³ See O.H.E. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments* (Cairo 1967) 99 (footnote), and The Coptic Orthodox Church of St. George and St. Joseph, *The Agpeya: Coptic Orthodox Prayer Book of the Hours* (Montreal 2001) 178-179.

Triodion (service-book for Lent) specifies that the hymn of the bridegroom be repeated three times, with slight variations in the closing sentence. The wording here, however, seems to suggest a directive of a different kind, external to the liturgy *per se*. In terms of Tractate 5 itself the reference may be to the three directives issued on pages 125.1, 125.10, and 126.2: (1) to raise the soul to God for mercy; (2) to keep the garments shining and stay alert; and (3) to keep the lamps filled and watch for the bridegroom. Although (2) clearly anticipates (3) and to that extent has to do with the *παρουσία*, its primary focus may be the “enocratic” life in the Pachomian community. Not improbably on page 128.10b and following the audience is being admonished to do as they have been urged. The three points may then have been developed in what follows. Alternatively, one can imagine other activities members of the communities may have been reminded to perform three times in a given time span.

Per la data di *P.Golenischev* della “Cronaca universale alessandrina”

Guglielmo Cavallo *Università di Roma “La Sapienza”*

Abstract

The Golenischev papyrus with the “Alexandrian World Chronicle” can be dated to the second half, probably the last quarter, of the sixth century.

La recente edizione di PSI inv. 3799, il quale restituisce una parte della IX lettera festale di Cirillo d'Alessandria (412-444), emanata dal patriarca per annunciare la data della Pasqua del 3 aprile 421 e scritta in *maiuscola alessandrina* (nel tipo ad alternanza tra modulo largo e stretto delle lettere), ha portato a un nuovo studio di questa scrittura adoperata per secoli nella cancelleria patriarcale di Alessandria, consentendo quindi una revisione delle datazioni relative che si possono assegnare a testimoni vergati – anche fuori del patriarcato – in quella stessa scrittura ma non datati.¹ Tra questi un esemplare di spicco è costituito da *P.Golenischev*, papiro illustrato della cosiddetta “Cronaca universale alessandrina,”² attualmente conservato a Mosca (Pushkin Museum inv. nr. 310).³ Assegnato nel 1905 dal suo primo editore, Adolf Bauer, alla prima metà

¹ G. Bastianini, G. Cavallo, “Un nuovo frammento di lettera festale (PSI inv. 3779),” in G. Bastianini, A. Casanova (eds.), *I papiri letterari cristiani. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi in memoria di Mario Naldini* (Firenze 2011) 31-45: 33-39.

² Un nuovo studio, fornito di tutta la bibliografia precedente, di *P.Golenischev*, con riedizione ed esteso commentario di fol. VI, si deve a R.W. Burgess, J.H.F. Dijkstra, “The ‘Alexandrian World Chronicle,’ its *Consularia* and the Date of the Destruction of the Serapeum (with an Appendix on the List of *Praefecti Augustales*),” *Millennium Jahrbuch* 10 (2013) in corso di stampa, dove sono anche discusse al meglio tutte le questioni inerenti alla “Cronaca.” Ringrazio gli autori per avermi consentito la lettura del loro lavoro prima della pubblicazione.

³ Un frammento è conservato a Vienna: P.Vindob. K 11630 (= U. Horak, *Illuminierte Papyri, Pergamente und Papiere* 1 [Vienna 1992] 97-102, nr. 19).

del secolo V,⁴ il papiro nel 1910 fu spostato al VI già da Daniel Serruys,⁵ datazione confermata in studi paleografici recenti.⁶ E tuttavia si continua, e da più parti, a ripetere la vecchia datazione alla prima metà del secolo V o comunque al V,⁷ mentre d'altro canto è stata avanzata anche una datazione molto più bassa, a circa l'anno 700.⁸ Si impone dunque una riconsiderazione paleografica di *P.Golenischev* nell'intento di ridefinirne e precisarne meglio la collocazione cronologica, tanto più che finora si è rimasti incerti tra una generica datazione al VI secolo⁹ e un più circoscritto periodo alla metà o all'ultimo scorcio o poco oltre, in sostanza intorno al 600.¹⁰ Vale comunque l'avvertenza che, come sempre ove si tratti di scritture non datate e soprattutto maiuscole, una datazione paleografica può lasciare in ogni caso qualche margine di dubbio.

Una volta istituito il confronto grafico con PSI inv. 3779 del 421, quel che emerge da un'attenta osservazione della *maiuscola alessandrina* di *P.Golenischev* è che per quest'ultimo deve essere del tutto esclusa la datazione al secolo V, tanto meno la prima metà, proposta dal suo primo editore. Ugualmente da escludere è una datazione al secolo VII ove si confronti questa stessa *maiuscola alessandrina* con quella di *P.Köln* 5.215,¹¹ un'altra lettera festale, da riferire al 663 (data più probabile) o al 674. E invece l'esemplare più vicino al papiro della cronaca alessandrina si dimostra ancora un'altra lettera festale, *P.Grenf.*

⁴ A. Bauer, J. Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik. Text und Miniaturen eines griechischen Papyrus der Sammlung W. Goleniščev* (Vienna 1905) 7-118.

⁵ D. Serruys, "Contribution à l'étude des 'canons' de l'onciale grecque," in *Mélanges offerts à Émile Chatelain* (Parigi 1910) 492-499: 498.

⁶ J. Irigoin, "L'onciale grecque de type copte," *JÖB* 7 (1959) 29-51: 41; G. Cavallo, "Γράμματα Ἀλεξανδρίνα," *JÖB* 24 (1975) 23-54: 47 (ristampa in G. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro. La scrittura greca dall'età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio* [Firenze 2005] 175-202: 195); G. Cavallo, H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period, A.D. 300-800* (Londra 1987) 82, nr. 37.

⁷ E' soprattutto questa la datazione che si ricava da LDAB 6345. Essa inoltre è ripresa in diversi (e importanti) lavori recenti, tra cui segnalo, per esempio, A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypte au IV^e siècle (328-373)* (Roma 1996) 819, e A. Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford 2011) 62.

⁸ O. Kurz, "The Date of the Alexandrian World Chronicle," in A. Rosenauer, G. Weber (eds.), *Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Salzburg 1972) 17-22: 20-22.

⁹ Cavallo, Maehler (n. 6) 82, nr. 37.

¹⁰ Cavallo (n. 6) 47 (rist. 195): metà VI secolo; ma si veda già prima lo stesso G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Firenze 1967) 116 (VI-VII secolo).

¹¹ LDAB 458.

2.112¹², che va assegnata – anche per motivi interni¹³ – al 577. Non vi è dubbio, infatti, che le analogie grafiche sono strettissime. La scrittura presenta nell'uno e nell'altro esemplare – rispetto a *PSI* inv. 3779 – disegno più rigido e tratti più spessi, una certa tendenza alla chiusura degli occhielli in alto di *alpha* e in basso di *psilon* che più tardi diventerà definitiva e sistematica, *kappa* con lievissima incurvatura dei tratti obliqui; ma d'altra parte la scrittura non presenta ancora l'asperato contrasto di modulo tra lettere larghe e lettere strette, gli occhielli totalmente ciechi, il *kappa* con tratti obliqui marcatamente ricurvi e tendenti a chiudersi "a tenaglia," il *phi* rigonfio, quali si incontrano già in *P.Köln* 5.215 e ancor più nella lettera festale *P.Berol.* inv. 10677¹⁴ del 713 o 719.

Il *P. Golenischev*, sul fondamento di questi confronti, va dunque assegnato a una data molto vicina a quella di *P.Grenf.* 2.112, vale a dire alla seconda metà del VI secolo e con alta probabilità all'ultimo quarto. Verso questa datazione orientano anche le didascalie delle figure, scritte in una maiuscola inclinata a tratti informale che si dimostra molto affine a quella della mano **b** di *P.Cairo* 10759, e di *PSI* 13.1299 e *P.Oxy.* 11.1374, tutti assegnati al tardo secolo VI.¹⁵

¹² LDAB 6291.

¹³ Si veda, per esempio, il fondamentale studio di A. Camplani, "La Quaresima egiziana nel VII secolo: note di cronologia su *Mon.Epiph.* 77, Manchester Rylands Suppl. 47-48, *P.Grenf.* II 112, *P.Berol.* 10677, *P.Köln* 215 e un'omelia copta," *Augustinianum* 32 (1992) 423-432: 429-430.

¹⁴ LDAB 194.

¹⁵ Cavallo, Maehler (n. 6) 90, nr. 41b; 92, nr. 42a e nr. 42b.



Three Fragments from a Coptic Codex of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles

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Abstract

The present article concerns three parchment fragments from the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in Coptic. Although each of them is kept in a different location, paleographical inspection shows that they belong to the same codex.

The present article concerns three parchment fragments from the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in Coptic. Although each of them is kept in a different location, paleographical inspection shows that they belong to the same codex. As the fragments are in small collections which are still uncatalogued or little studied, I present them here.

The first fragment is owned by the Norwegian collector Martin Schøyen, being MS 2007 in his collection of manuscripts. The text was copied in two columns, but the right-hand column of the recto (and the left-hand column of the verso) has survived only fragmentarily because of the damage of the parchment. According to the website of the Schøyen collection, the size of the fragment is 34 × 20 cm at its widest points.¹ MS 2007 contains the final part of the Acts of Philip (BHO 975-976; CANT 252) in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic. This apocryphal text is preserved fragmentarily in the Sahidic,² Fayyumic,³

¹ <http://www.schoyencollection.com/apocrypha.html#2007> (accessed July 2012).

² Some Sahidic fragments had been published in I. Guidi, "Frammenti copti II," *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Rendiconti* ser. 4, vol. 3.2 (1887) 19-35 at 20-23; translated in Idem, "Gli Atti apocrifi degli Apostoli nei testi copti, arabi ed etiopici," *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 2 (1888) 1-66 at 27-29; W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1906) 128 (= no. 292), 137-138 (= no. 310); O. von Lemm, "Kleine koptische Studien I-IX," *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg* n.s. 10.5 (1899) 403-434 at 433-434 (reprinted in his *Kleine koptische Studien I-LVIII* [Leipzig 1972] 1-32, at 31-32).

³ A fragmentary Fayyumic version, which is kept in the National Library of Russia in Saint-Petersburg, had been published in O. von Lemm, "Koptische apokryphe

and Bohairic⁴ dialects, and completely in Arabic⁵ and Ethiopic, the latter version being included in the collection of the “Combats of the Apostles” (*Gadla ḥawāryāt*).⁶ The Schøyen leaf narrates the episode of the man possessed by a devil and the conversion of the Phrygians by the apostles Peter and Philip.⁷

The fragment was bought by Martin Schøyen in June 1995 from the dealer Sam Fogg Rare Books in London. Before being sold by Sam Fogg, it had belonged to the American collector Laurence Witten. The library card of the item indicates, with a question mark, that the fragment could have been acquired by Witten from Erik von Scherling, the renowned Dutch book seller and collector of Swedish origin. Furthermore, the same source mentions that there may be a related fragment of the manuscript in question, which was also formerly in von Scherling’s possession.⁸ If so, can we find out the current whereabouts of the document related to the Schøyen fragment?

In order to answer this question, we have available a reliable source of information: the quarterly *Rotulus*, which was privately printed by von Scherling.

Apostelacten I,” *Bulletin de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg* n.s. 1 (1890) 509-581 at 520-549.

⁴ Bohairic fragments published in H.G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi ʾn Natrun* vol. 1: *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius* (New York 1926) 38-40.

⁵ Arabic text in A. Smith Lewis, *Acta mythologica apostolorum* (London 1904) 51-55; English translation in A. Smith Lewis, *The Mythological Acts of the Apostles* (London 1904) 60-65.

⁶ The Ethiopic collection of *Gadla ḥawāryāt* comes from Coptic via Arabic. On the description of this collection as a whole and its manuscript tradition, see A. Bausi, “Alcune osservazioni sul *Gadla ḥawāryāt*,” *Annali dell’Università degli studi di Napoli “L’Orientale*” 60-61 (2000-2001) 77-114. An English translation of the Ethiopic version of the Acts of Philip appeared for the first time in S.C. Malan, *The Conflicts of the Holy Apostles. An Apocryphal Book of the Early Eastern Churches* (London 1871) 66-76; republished by E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Contending of the Apostles* 2 vols. (London 1899-1901) 1:126-134 (Ethiopic text), 2:146-155 (English translation).

⁷ The text of the Schøyen fragment corresponds to the Arabic and Ethiopic versions of the text published in Smith Lewis, *Acta mythologica*, 55 (Arabic text); Smith Lewis, *Mythological Acts*, 64-65 (English translation from Arabic); Budge, *Contending of the Apostles*, 1:132-134 (Ethiopic text), 2:154-155 (English translation). A Sahidic parallel to the text of MS 2007 is provided by Paris BnF Copte 129¹⁸, ff. 104r-105r (unpublished). It should be pointed out that the text of the Schøyen fragment is shorter compared to the other surviving textual witnesses.

⁸ On von Scherling’s activity as a papyri dealer and on the dispersal of the collection after his death, see Klaas Worp’s contribution in M. Bakker, A. Bakkers, and K. Worp, “Back to Oegstgeest: The von Scherling Papyrus Collection. Some von Scherling Texts in Minnesota,” *BASP* 44 (2007) 41-73 at 41-47.

This magazine was meant to serve as a catalogue of the items that the antiquities dealer had for sale during the years when he was active. A note published in 1949 in *Rotulus* offers an interesting information for the purpose of this paper:

Acta Philippi et Petri. Acta Jacobi. Fragmenta sahidica membr. saec. VIII-IX.

(A) the leaf from a vellum codex, folio, now measuring 330: ab. 190 mM., double columns with 35 lines to the column, rather angular uncial script, black initial letters in the margins, the recto contains the end of *Acta Philippi* with consequently only 20 lines to the second column.

(B) Lower part from a leaf from the same codex, now measuring 150: 155 mM., with 14 more or less complete lines of the first column on verso and 15 faded lines from the second column on recto.

With complete transcriptions (Cm 11 a/b) and parallel texts of the Fayumic, Bohairic, Arabic & Ethiopic version.⁹

It is interesting to remark that fragment (A) in von Scherling's note corresponds precisely with Schøyen MS 2007 in terms of size, number of lines and content of the text (i.e., it is the last leaf of the Acts of Philip). Moreover, von Scherling mentioned the existence of complete transcriptions and parallels extracted from different other versions of the text, which must be the same as those deposited today in the Schøyen collection together with MS 2007. Another detail confirmed by the *Rotulus* note is that von Scherling owned two fragments codicologically related from the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in Coptic, one with the Acts of Philip (now Schøyen MS 2007), whilst the second was to contain a portion from the Acts of James, the son of Zebedee (BHO 415-418; CANT 273).¹⁰

⁹ *Rotulus. A Bulletin for Manuscript Collectors* 5 (1949) 39 (= no. 2212). This issue of *Rotulus* is freely available on Prof. Jan Just Witkam's website: http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference/old_books/Rotulus-5-1949.pdf. Other issues of the bulletin are available at <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference/>.

¹⁰ This text is preserved in Coptic (only fragmentarily), Arabic and Ethiopic. For the edition and translation of some of the Coptic fragments see I. Guidi, "Frammenti copti I," *Rendiconti delle sedute della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* ser. 4, vol. 3.1 (1887) 47-63 at 53-69; Italian translation in Idem, "Gli Atti apocrifi," 15-18; O. von Lemm, "Bruchstück einer Petrusapokalypse," *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg* (1908) 1323-1328 (reprinted in his *Koptische Miscellen I-CXLVIII* [Leipzig 1972] 107-112). Arabic text in Smith Lewis, *Acta mythologica*, 26-29; English translation of the Arabic in Smith Lewis, *Mythologi-*

As a matter of fact, the fragment from the apocryphal Acts of James has not vanished, but it is found today in the collection of Oriental manuscripts of the Leiden University Library as Cod. Or. 14.331.¹¹ The paleographical comparison of Schøyen MS 2007 to the Leiden fragment showed that the two parchment pieces come from the same codex.¹² The second fragment is badly damaged, less than 25% of the original leaf having been preserved. Its dimensions are 15 × 18 cm,¹³ which correspond *grosso modo* to the size mentioned by von Scherling for his second fragment. The item was purchased by Dr. Jan Just Witkam, the former curator of the Oriental collections in Leiden, in November 1975 from Laurence Witten.¹⁴ However, it is sure that before being in Witten's possession, the fragment had been owned by von Scherling. This is confirmed by Witten's catalogue no. 6 (1975), which says that the text "is accompanied by a transcription and comparative texts prepared by the former owner, E. von Scherling."¹⁵

The aforementioned details put beyond doubt the fact that we have stumbled upon the two Coptic fragments of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles formerly owned by Erik von Scherling. Trying to trace back the modern trajectory of these apocryphal fragments, it emerged that from von Scherling's collection they had passed into the hands of Laurence Witten. It was the latter collector who sold in 1975 the fragment of the Acts of James to the Library of the University of Leiden. Exactly two decades later, in 1995, Laurence Witten died and his collection was partly donated, partly offered for sale by the family.

cal Acts, 30-34. An English translation from Ethiopic can be found in Malan, *Conflicts of the Holy Apostles*, 172-178; Budge, *Contendings of the Apostles*, 1:247-253 (Ethiopic text), 2:246-252 (English translation).

¹¹ The fragment is mentioned in N. Kruit and J.J. Witkam, *List of Coptic Manuscript Materials in the Papyrological Institute Leiden and in the Library of the University of Leiden* (Leiden 2000).

¹² The anonymous *BASP* reviewer of this paper pointed out that the kinship between the two fragments has been remarked, independently of me, by Renate Dekker in an article about the Coptic papyri in von Scherling collection, which is included in this issue of *BASP*.

¹³ The dimensions are supplied on the website of the Leiden collection: http://bc.ub.leidenuniv.nl/bc/tentoonstelling/Coptic_manuscript/object2a.htm.

¹⁴ Cf. J.J. Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden* vol. 15: *Manuscripts Or. 14.001-Or. 15.000. Registered in Leiden University Library in the Period between August 1973 and June 1980* (Leiden 2007) 157-158 (available at <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/or15000.pdf>).

¹⁵ L. Witten, *Catalogue 6: One Hundred Important Books & Manuscripts. 6th to 19th Century* (Monroe 1975) 13-14 (= no. 12), with a photographic reproduction of the fragment's verso.

A third fragment of the same codex has surfaced through a fortuitous coincidence while I was checking a series of unidentified literary Coptic fragments which are kept in the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat, near Barcelona.¹⁶ Upon inspection, the text of P.Monts. Roca 323 had been identified as yet another portion of the Acts of the James, whereas the examination of the script indicated that it is paleographically related to the previous two fragments. Moreover, the comparison with the parallel narrative in the Arabic and Ethiopic versions of the Acts of James showed that the Leiden and the Montserrat fragments were originally parts of the same leaf.¹⁷ The textual continuity between P.Monts. Roca 323 and Leiden Or. 14.331 is ascertained also by a parallel passage which is preserved in a different Sahidic codex. This manuscript, which came from the White Monastery in Upper Egypt, is dismembered and incomplete. Luckily, one of the surviving leaves of the codex in question, which is kept in the National Library in Paris as BnF Copte 129¹⁸, f. 139,¹⁸ contains a parallel narrative which confirms that the text of the Montserrat and Leiden fragments is continuous. A comparison between the two Sahidic texts reveals, however, that they belong to two slightly different versions of the Acts of James.

The verso (hair side) of the Leiden fragment contains the episode of the blind man cured and converted by the apostle James, while the same side of

¹⁷ The fragments parallel Smith Lewis, *Acta mythologica*, 27-28 (Arabic text); Smith Lewis, *Mythological Acts*, 30-31 (English translation); Budge, *Contendings of the Apostles*, 1:248-249 (Ethiopic text); 2:296-298 (English translation). However, it should be noted that the Sahidic text is shorter compared to the Arabic and Ethiopic recensions.

¹⁹ Cf. von Lemm, "Petrusapokalypse," 1325-1326.

P.Monts. Roca 323 reads the consequences of this miracle, with the crowds accusing the apostles of witchcraft. As no Sahidic manuscript is known to preserve this episode, the continuity of the fragments' text on the verso sides has been established by the comparison with the Arabic and Ethiopic versions. Thus, the *incipit* τ[ΟΤΕ Ι]Δ[Κ]ΟΒΟC ΠΕΧ[Ε Μ]ΠΒΛ[Λ]Ε· ΧΕ (Leiden Cod. Or. 14.331v, col. 1, lines 2-4) corresponds to the Arabic *فنادى يعقوب الأعمى وقال له*, Ethiopic *ወጸዎ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ለውእቱ፡ ዕውር፡ ወይቢሎ፡*, while the *explicit* ΔΝΟΝ ΝΕΖΜΖΔ[Λ] ΝΟΥΝΟΥΤ[Ε ΝΔΓΔ]ΘΟC· ΕΥΜ[ΟΥΤΕ Ε]ΡΟΥ [ΧΕ] Ι[Ε] (P.Monts. Roca 323v, col. 2, lines 17-21) parallels *نحن عبيد لرب صالح اسمه يسوع* in Arabic and *ንሕነ፡ አግብር ቲሁ፡ ለአምላክ፡ ኀር፡ ዘስሙ፡ ኢየሱስ፡* in Ethiopic.²⁰

A few words are in order concerning the provenance of the Montserrat fragment. This used to be in the possession of Father Ramón Roca-Puig, a monk of the Montserrat Abbey, who left his collection of manuscripts to the monastery after his death in 2001. It is not clear when or from where Father Roca-Puig acquired the Acts of James fragment. In her book concerning the Coptic Biblical fragments in the Montserrat Abbey, Sofia Torallas Tovar has written the following lines concerning the Roca Coptic manuscript fragments:

Roca-Puig created his collection personally, either with the financial support of Catalan influential families or by his own means. Apparently, he bought most of the papyri in Cairo in the 50s of last century, through the *Institut Copte* and the *Società delle missioni africane*, although we know that he also bought important pieces from an antiquary in Lugano (Switzerland).²¹

It is possible that Roca-Puig had bought the fragment from von Scherling. In fact, there is at least one more Coptic manuscript which was shared by the two collectors. Thus, a little parchment palimpsest fragment formerly in the possession of von Scherling, which is kept today in the collection of McGill University in Montreal as MS No. Coptic 2, came from a larger manuscript which belonged to Roca-Puig (P.Monts. Roca 2.4).²² However, if Roca-Puig purchased the Acts of James fragment from the Dutch dealer, why do von

²⁰ Smith Lewis, *Acta mythologica*, 27; Budge, *Contendings of the Apostles*, 1:249 (with modifications).

²¹ S. Torallas Tovar, *Biblia Coptica Montserratensia* (P. Monts. Roca II) (Barcelona 2007) 9.

²² The superior part of the manuscript contains a magical text, while the underlying text was identified as 2 Samuel. The Montreal fragment was published in B.C. Jones, "A New Coptic Fragment of 2 Samuel 10:13-14, 17-18: McGill MS NO Coptic 2," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 184 (2013) 126-130. For the Montserrat part of the manuscript, see Torallas Tovar, *Biblia Coptica Montserratensia*, 19-42. Torallas Tovar

Scherling's transcriptions not include this item as well? Therefore, although we do not possess enough information, I suggest that von Scherling and Roca-Puig might have purchased the three fragments from the same dealer, who remains unknown.

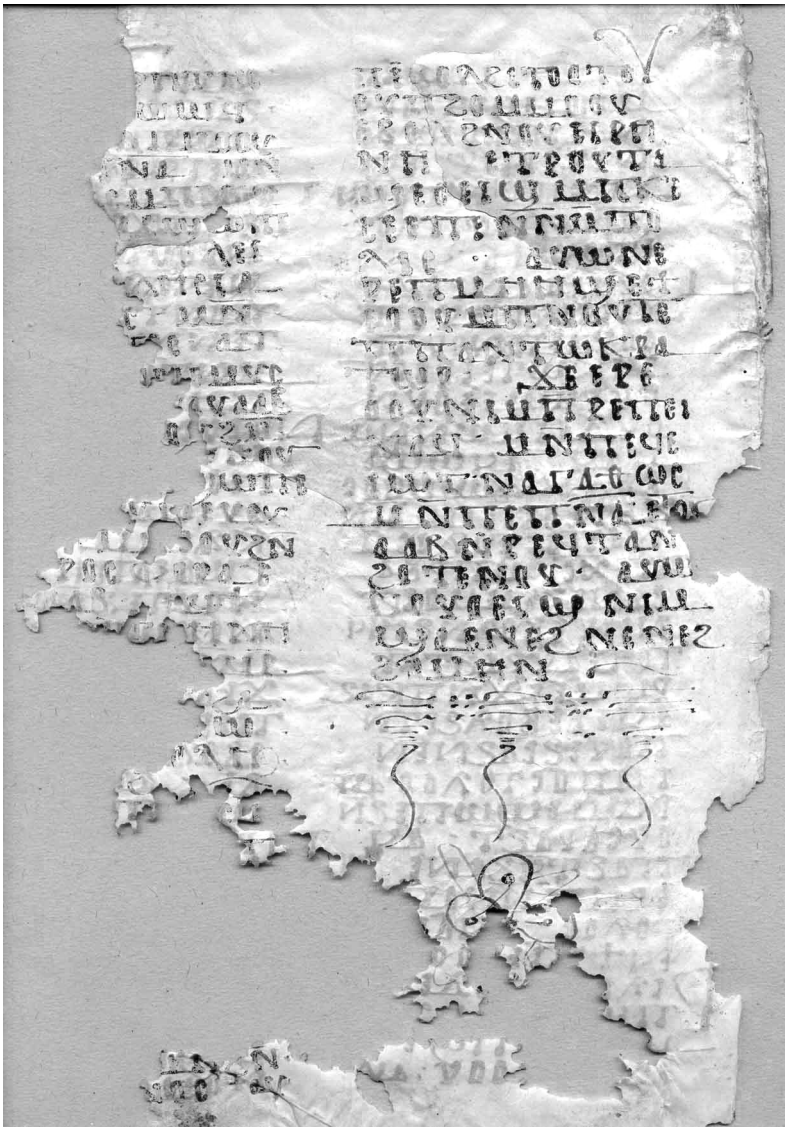
It is worth noting that there is no indication that the source of the fragments was the library of the White Monastery, whose codices, sold piecemeal, are scattered today all over the world. Although this provenance cannot be excluded from the outset, the main collections holding material which undoubtedly come from White Monastery do not seem to preserve other pieces from the same codex,²³ or at least copied in the same scribe's hand. In conclusion, unless further evidence surfaces, we cannot assume that the three fragments mentioned here do come from the White Monastery.

As to the age of the documents, keeping in mind the current unreliability of Coptic paleography,²⁴ a 10th century date seems possible.

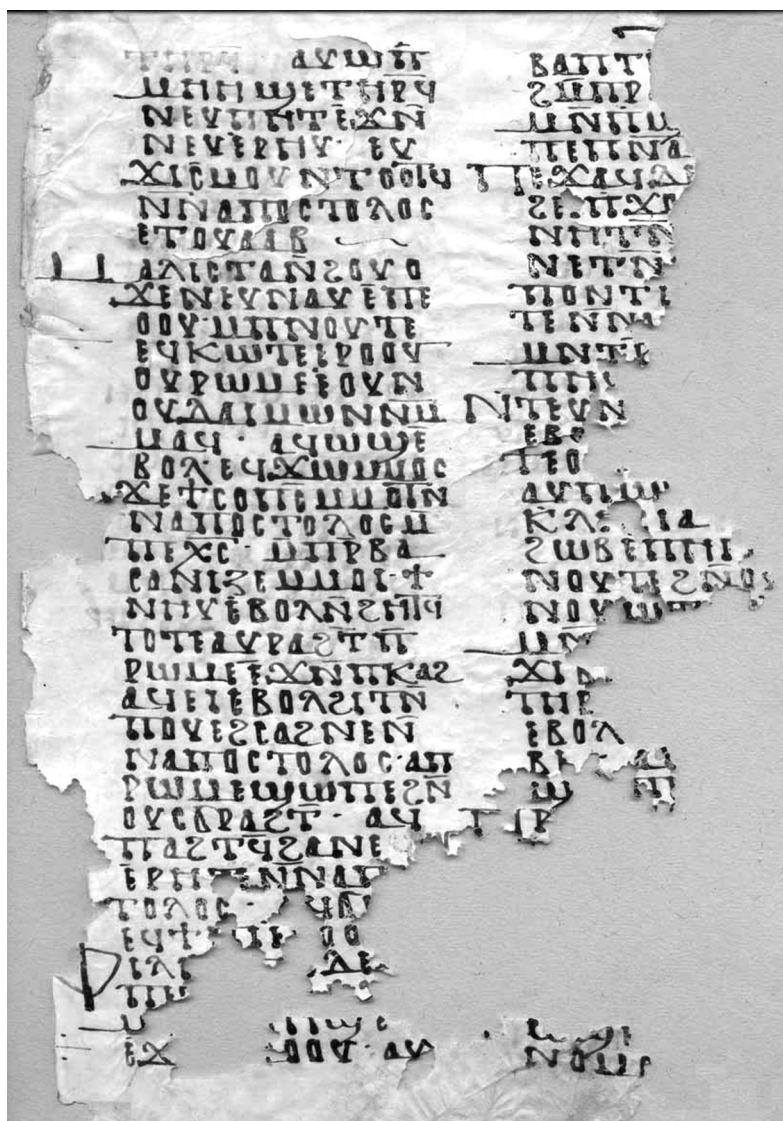
mentions that one of the Roca-Puig fragments of this manuscript was identified in the Palau Ribes collection in Barcelona.]

²³ For a directory of the surviving fragments of the White Monastery codices containing the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, see E. Lucchesi, "Contribution codicologique," 4-24. Our fragments cannot be attributed on paleographical grounds to any of the codices mentioned there.

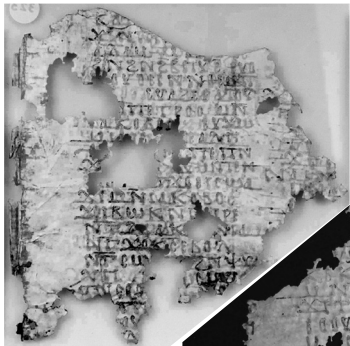
²⁴ B. Layton, "Towards a New Coptic Palaeography," in T. Orlandi and F. Wisse (eds.), *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Rome 1985) 149-158.



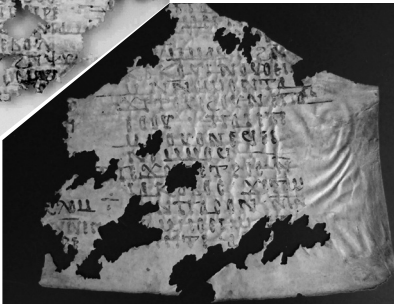
Schøyen MS 2007 recto



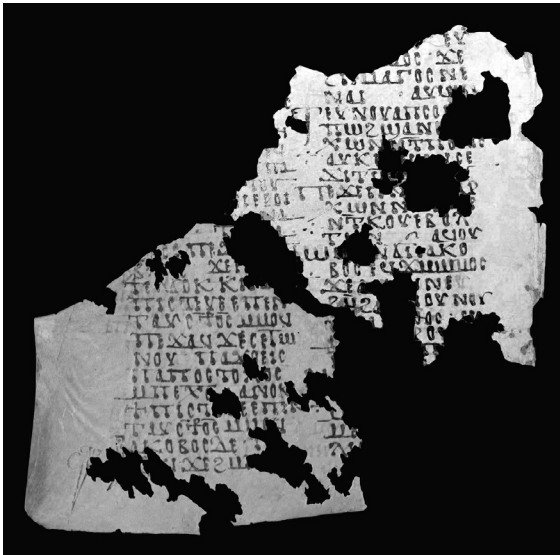
Schøyen MS 2007 verso



P.Monts. Roca 323 recto



Leiden Or. 14.331 recto



P.Monts. Roca 323 verso (top)
Leiden Or. 14.331 verso (bottom)

The Authorship of *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59308

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Abstract

The authorship of the Zenon Archive text *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59308 has been a puzzle for scholars ever since its discovery almost a century ago. The papyrus is almost certainly a draft of a letter. It most likely originated from the eponymous Zenon himself, but the greeting formula has a confusing cast, at first sight apparently lacking the name of the author and presenting Zenon as a recipient. A supralinear addition to the same effect further complicates interpretation. This paper aims to resolve the problem through a reassessment of textual and contextual factors.

The authorship of *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59308 (Figure 1) has been a puzzle for scholars ever since its discovery almost a century ago.¹ The crux of the issue is the peculiarity of its greeting formula. We appear to have Ζήνωνι \Ζήνωνι χ[[. . .]]/ Ἀξάτηι χαίρειν. As C.C. Edgar observes, “The first word looks like Ζήνωνι rather than Ζήνων and is in rather smaller characters than the rest of the text; above it is written Ζήνωνι χ[[. . . .]].; and some letters have apparently been deleted before Ἀξάτηι. It is therefore doubtful whether Ζήνων, or Ζήνωνι, belongs to the original text and whether Zenon was actually the author.”² In both his editions – *P.Edg.* 47 (1920) and *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59308 (1928) – Edgar prints Ζήνων Ἀξάτηι χαίρειν in the text, but his title in the later publication reflects his reservations: “Letter from Zenon(?) to Axates”. P.W. Pestman has

¹ It is a pleasure to thank Willy Clarysse, John Lee, Klaus Maresch, and three anonymous *BASP* readers for their comments on aspects of this paper; also members of the audience that heard a version at Macquarie University, Sydney, on 12 August 2011. For use of Figures 1 and 2 I acknowledge permission from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents in Oxford, and the International Photographic Mission initiated and sponsored by the Association internationale de papyrologues and UNESCO. The images reproduced here and used in my analysis were digitized from b/w photographs taken by Adam Bülow-Jacobsen.

² C.C. Edgar, *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59308, introduction. The observation that Ζήνων is “in rather smaller characters than the rest of the text” is an overstatement. The height of individual letters and words fluctuates throughout.

since suggested as an alternative “perhaps” \Ζήνων/ Ζήνωνι,³ that is \Ζήνων/ Ζήνωνι Ἀξάτη χαίρειν, “Zenon to Zenon (and) Axates greetings”. This is ingenious, but the image of the papyrus below shows that it is impossible. The supralinear form of the name is clearly the dative Ζήνωνι.

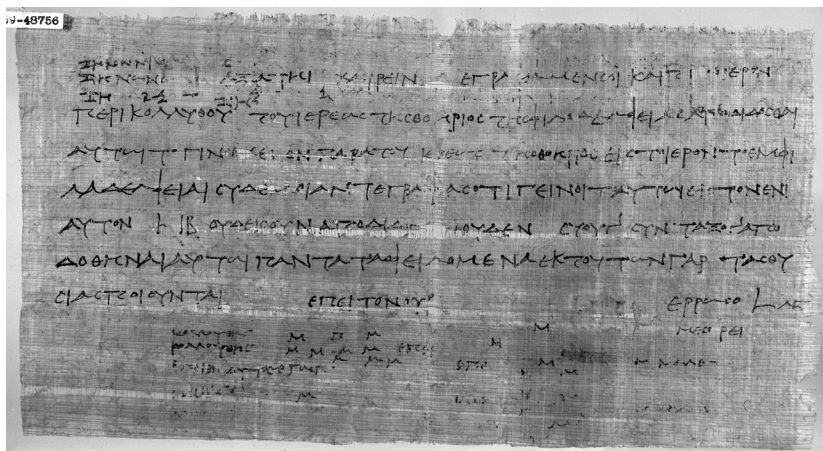


Figure 1: P.Cair.Zen. 3.59308 front (for permission see n. 1)

Is any greater certainty about the authorship of the letter now possible? Let us begin from the working assumption that the Zenon mentioned is the usual suspect, the son of Agreophon and eponymous keeper of the Zenon Archive.⁴ The content suggests that this is just the kind of letter that this Zenon *might* have written. It is a direction to pay a sum owed to the priest of Thoreris (Taweret) of the Fayum village of Philadelphieia, written during the annual flood in 250 BCE, in the period when Zenon was managing his patron Apollonios the διοικητής's large estate at Philadelphieia and had considerable local influence. The recipient Axates is not known from any other document, unless correctly identified with the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς Axapes, mentioned in two other Zenon papyri (P.Cair.Zen. 4.59590; P.Mich.Zen. 82).⁵

³ P.W. Pestman (ed.), *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1981) 1:108.

⁴ W. Clarysse, “Prosopography,” in Pestman (n. 3) 332, s.v. Ζήνων 1, accepts the identification without discussion; see p. 333, s.v. Ζήνων 2-10, for several other Zenons that feature in the documents of the Zenon Archive (also W.J. Tait, *P.Zen.Pestm.* 59.7n.). Their presence motivates Pestman's suggestion described above.

⁵ Edgar, *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59308, introduction; Clarysse (n. 4) 290, s.v. Ἀξάτης; J.F. Oates, *The Ptolemaic Basilikos Grammateus* (Atlanta, GA, 1995) 41-46. The Axapes who wrote P.Rain. Cent. 43 (letter to Horos about a grain shipment; Oxyrhynchite nome; 3 January

The likelihood that Zenon son of Agreophon was responsible is reinforced by the strong probability that the document is a draft. The Zenon Archive contains a number of what Willy Clarysse terms “outgoing documents” (texts written by the person who controls an archive or by that person’s scribes in order to be dispatched).⁶ At least 40 of these, including drafts that formed the basis for such documents, originate from Zenon himself.⁷ A completed outgoing document would not in the normal course of events remain part of the author’s archive,⁸ but we have a few letters which may well have been sent and then found their way back into Zenon’s custody, some final versions which were at least intended for dispatch, and also several preliminary drafts (of both letters and other kinds of document).⁹

The preliminary letter-drafts are often easily recognizable as such. They are sometimes written on the backs or in the margins of previously used

236) may well be the same person (M. Kaimio, *P.Rain.Cent.* 43.1n). On the goddess Thoeris and her connections with both Oxyrhynchus and the Fayum town Oxyrhyncha, helpfully clarified by Oates, see also J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse, and B. Van Maele, “Athena, Neith and Thoeris in Greek Documents,” *ZPE* 60 (1985) 224-230.

⁶ W. Clarysse, “The Zenon Papyri Thirty Years On,” in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *100 anni di istituzioni fiorentine per la papirologia. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze 12-13 giugno 2008* (Florence 2009) 37.

⁷ This figure excludes both *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59308 and outgoing documents from persons other than Zenon who controlled the Zenon Archive at different periods in its development (for the complicated history of the Zenon Archive see Pestman [n. 3] 171-183; W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe, *Zénon: un homme d'affaires grec à l'ombre des pyramides* [Leuven 1995] 24-31).

⁸ Two letters from Zenon have in fact been recovered from other finds. These are *P.Zen.Pestm.* B, sent to the ἀρχιτέκτων Kleon and discovered in his archive among the Petrie papyri, and *P.Zen.Pestm.* D, sent to Phanias, the well-attested γραμματεὺς τῶν ἱππέων (cf. Clarysse [n. 6] 37).

⁹ There are 27 papyri preserving letters or letter-drafts, in some cases multiple drafts on a single papyrus (*P.Col.Zen.* 1.45; *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59015 verso [five drafts], 1.59129; 2.59230, 2.59241, 2.59277, 2.59287; 3.59367 [four drafts], 3.59386, 3.59521, 3.59526; 4.59545 [two drafts], 4.59546; 4.59585, 4.59612, 4.59637; 5.59825, 5.59836; *P.Lond.* 7.1972; 7.2019; 7.2067 [two drafts]; *P.Mich.Zen.* 81, 82; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 56; *PSI* 4.361, 4.371, 4.395). The other 13 papyri in the group preserve four memorandum-drafts (*P.Col.Zen.* 2.107; *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59341 [two drafts]; *SB* 22.15803), a draft of a statement concerning a loan (*P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59355), a declaration (*PSI* 4.396), two drafts of notifications for deposit in a bank (*P.Col.Zen.* 1.57; *P.Mich.Zen.* 9 [back]), five petition-drafts (*P.Col.Zen.* 2.72; *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59351; 4.59620; 4.59621; 5.59832), and a draft of a duplicate receipt in letter form (*P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59362).

papyri,¹⁰ and frequently in Zenon's own convincingly identified autograph.¹¹ We may find multiple drafts on a single papyrus sheet.¹² Several also manifest abbreviation of the opening "A to B greetings" formula to the name of the addressee in the dative case ("To B").¹³ Other texts from Zenon are in much more finished form, to the point where it can be hard to tell whether they are drafts or final versions. There are some 14 letters that were developed as far as being addressed on the back.¹⁴ Some of these were probably dispatched and returned,¹⁵ in other cases some change of plan or circumstances may have caused a completed letter not to be sent out at all.¹⁶

¹⁰ Examples are *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59386, 3.59526, *P.Mich.Zen.* 82, and *PSI* 4.361. *PSI* 4.361.20-24 is written on the back of the letter that directly prompted its composition, while *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59526 is written at the foot of the letter of Philokrates to which it replies.

¹¹ Clarysse (n. 6) 38-39 provides an important new analysis of texts in Zenon's hand and a detailed description of its distinctive letter-shapes and general features.

¹² For these see n. 9 above.

¹³ There are 14 examples (*P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59015verso [all five drafts]; 3.59386; 3.59526.6; 4.59637 [all four drafts]; *P.Lond.* 7.2067.9 [second draft]; *P.Mich.Zen.* 82; *PSI* 4.361.20). In three cases the abbreviation occurs within an extended form of greeting (*P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59015 verso 1, 26; *PSI* 4.361.20).

¹⁴ *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59129; 2.59230; 2.59241; 2.59287; 3.59521; 4.59546; 4.59612; 5.59825; *P.Lond.* 7.1972; 7.2019; *P.Mich.Zen.* 81; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 56; *PSI* 4.371; 4.395. The absence, incidentally, of an address on the back of an otherwise apparently finished letter does not necessarily indicate that it should be excluded from the group that may have been dispatched and returned. Not every incoming letter received by Zenon bears an address on the back (see also Edgar, *P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59236, introduction: "if a petition was to be presented by hand, it did not necessarily bear an address" [note that this document was not addressed to Zenon]). The lack of an address does, however, render the status of the version that survives more doubtful and suggests, all other things being equal, that it is more likely to be a draft.

¹⁵ We cannot be certain about this possibility, but it is likely in the case of payment-orders (e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* 5.59825; *P.Mich.Zen.* 81; *PSI* 4.371; 4.395). The usual practice with this type of letter seems to have been for the original to be returned to the author, who kept it as proof of order (see Clarysse [n. 6] 37; Pestman [n. 3] 189). Two other possible cases are *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59129 and 4.59546, both addressed to Panakestor, Zenon's predecessor as estate-manager at Philadelphiea. If actually sent, they may have been received and filed at Philadelphiea and later reabsorbed into Zenon's papers when he replaced Panakestor (cf. Edgar, *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59129, introduction; Clarysse [n. 6] 37; Pestman [n. 3] 175 n. 5, 185).

¹⁶ A clear example is *P.Zen.Pestm.* 56. This letter was addressed on the back and sealed, but before it was sent, the seal was broken, a lengthy addition was inserted into the text on the front, and a new version of the central part of the letter was written on the back. We may assume a fair copy was made from the second version for dispatch. The original papyrus was retained in Zenon's files. For discussion see J.K. Winnicki, *P.Zen.Pestm.*

P.Cair.Zen. 3.59308 reached an advanced stage of development, but was almost certainly never dispatched. It is written mainly in square capitals and the hand is that of a professional scribe, as in most finished letters from the Zenon Archive, including those from Zenon.¹⁷ It would have been copied from a preliminary draft or from dictation. The papyrus was at some point folded up, as can be seen from one vertical and five horizontal fold-lines (especially clear in Figure 2 below). But there is no address on the back, and the day of the month has unusually not been added to the dating formula on the front. In addition, there are bits and pieces of informal writing in various places on both front and back.¹⁸ Most of them bear no apparent relationship to the main text. All these features in combination are consistent with the papyrus being set aside as a draft and reused as scrap paper.

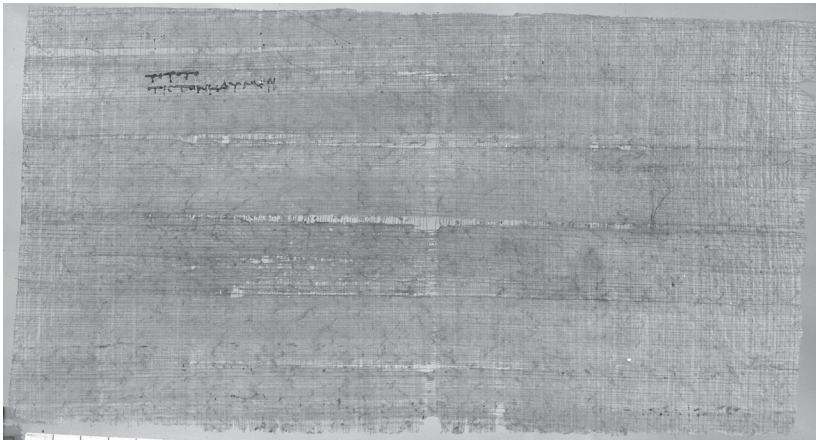


Figure 2: *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59308 back (for permission see n. 1)

If this interpretation is correct, and the document really is a draft, its very presence among Zenon's own papers ought to suggest (though not prove) his

56, introduction; Clarysse (n. 6) 40; for images see S.B. Kougeas, "Ζηνώνειοι πάπυροι ἐν Ἀθήναις," *Ελληνικά* 9 (1936), two plates after p. 12.

¹⁷ Cf. Clarysse (n. 6) 37. On writing hands in the Zenon Archive see in general E. Crisci, "Le scritture dell'Archivio di Zenon: note e riflessioni," in M. D'Agostino and P. Degni (eds.), *Alethes philia. Studi in onore di Giancarlo Prato* (Spoleto 2010) 279-299 (286-289 address square-capital scripts).

¹⁸ Cf. Edgar, *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59308, introduction: "A number of words, letters and figures are scribbled here and there." The papyrus clearly had a complex history as a writing surface. Apart from these later additions, faint traces, apparently of earlier writing that has been sponged out, are also visible in several places on the front and back of the papyrus. They suggest that the main text addressed to Axates is not its first use. The earlier writing may also explain the fold-lines noted above.

authorship. But if we return to the heart of the problem, the perceived lack of any nominative form in the greeting formula of the text, a more certain answer to the puzzle is available. In fact Edgar appears to have considered the solution, only to obscure it through equivocal language and the question-mark in his title. The key words in his remarks quoted at the outset are “some letters have apparently been deleted before Ἀξάτη.”

The components of the greeting formula are all spaced, according to one conventional practice among writers of the period.¹⁹ If we examine closely the individual letter-forms of the preserved text, it is difficult to accept that the presumed -ι immediately following the line 1 sequence ζήνων can really be what it seems. The other examples of ι in this part of the text, for instance in supralinear Ζήνωνι, in Ἀξάτηι, and twice in χαίρειν, are much bolder strokes and show greater vertical extension. Hence, I presume, Edgar’s comment that “It is ... doubtful whether Ζήνων, or Ζήνωνι, belongs to the original text.” What we most probably see here is the form Ζήνων followed immediately by a trace, probably of a different letter to ι, from writing that has been sponged out. The observable trace on the papyrus suggests that this letter may have been ω, the scribe repeating the sequence -νω- by mistake, then somewhat ineffectively sponging out the graphic error.²⁰ If this is right, then we do have the nominative that the greeting formula requires and can accordingly be confident in attributing the letter-draft to Zenon.

There remains the question of the supralinear addition Ζήνωνι above Ζήνων, which has so complicated interpretation. One could argue that when the scribe mistakenly wrote ζήνωνω (if that is what happened), the intention all along was to write ζήνωνι, and that the name was then written correctly above the line. But the continuation χ[[. . . .]] would then need to be explained. This is not a simple correction of the text below it, but at the very least an adaptation.

My own preference is to take the supralinear text as an unrelated addition, having no real link to the question of authorship at all. There are various examples of practice-writing on the front of the papyrus, using elements of the main text as models; thus, interlinear letter-sequences added beneath the

¹⁹ Spacing of the components (author’s name [in nominative case], recipient’s name [in dative], χαίρειν – order variable) is usual in Zenon’s letters, whether written in the autograph or by his scribes (thus *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59129; 2.59230; 2.59241; 2.59287; *P.Lond.* 7.1972; 7.2019; *P.Mich.Zen.* 81; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 56; *PSI* 4.371; 4.395) and common in other letters from the Zenon Archive (e.g. *P.Lond.* 7.2006; 7.2008 [both from Iason]; *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59042; 1.59045; 1.59047 [all from Amyntas]). It is by no means, however, always found (e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59317; 3.59369; 3.59456; *P.Col.Zen.* 1.21). Images of the majority of these examples can be accessed via papyri.info; I have examined all of them.

²⁰ I thank Harold Tarrant for this suggestion.

beginning of line 1, which repeat (twice) the first two letters (ζη) of Zenon's name, numerous examples of single letters (mostly μ), letter-sequences, and whole words written out in the lower part of the papyrus, and corrections of the name of the priest of Thoeris.²¹ I suspect that \Ζήνωνι χ[[. . . .]]/ is one more instance of the same phenomenon. This idea cannot be proven, but neither can the notion that the supralinear addition is a genuine correction to a draft addressed to Zenon.

If my argument is accepted, it resolves the problem of identification and we can conclude that Zenon son of Agreophon is indeed the author of *P.Cair.Zen.* 3.59308. Logic suggests this is the most likely reason for the draft to be kept among his papers. In my view there is also strong textual support for reading his name in the nominative case in the greeting formula. There are also contextual reasons to doubt the significance of the supralinear dative form for the question of authorship. The real form of the greeting would be the Ζήνων Ἀξάτηι χαίρειν which Edgar actually printed in his editions.

²¹ The name of the priest appears in line 2 of the draft as Κολλύθου (genitive case). This is not the normal spelling, which would be Κολλούθου (for references to examples, including examples of the variant spelling, see Clarysse [n. 4] 354-355, s.v. Κολλούθης). The orthographic confusion υ = ου occurs occasionally in Ptolemaic papyri, notably though not exclusively in Egyptian names, of which Κολλούθης is an example (Mayser and Schmoll, *Gramm.* 1.1:79 [cf. 1.1:83]). In the lower part of the papyrus the same name is written out twice in the nominative case, one form above the other, in the standard spelling: Κολλούθης | Κολλούθης. The script is smaller than that of the main text and less careful, but in similarly formed square capitals, and may have been written by the same person.

New Light on the Hawara Undertakers *P.Ryl.* 4.587 and 588 and the Expression of Identity in Ptolemaic Egypt

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Abstract

This article proposes the identification of a family of Egyptian funerary personnel from Hawara with a family of Persians and Macedonians mentioned in *P.Ryl.* 4.587 en 588. The Greek papyri are re-edited in part with revised readings. This is followed by a discussion of Greek-Egyptian double names and how these contribute to the expression of identity in Ptolemaic Egypt.

Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt is a complicated matter. To determine someone's ethnic origin, for example on the basis of personal names, has proven to be a delicate issue. Only detailed analysis, often only possible in the case of archives, can reveal the multiple layers of (ethnic) identity that played a part in the construction of someone's personal identity.¹ The archive of the Hawara undertakers allows such an analysis. Thus far, the family of Harmais and his sons was known largely through the Demotic texts from their archive, in which they acted as Egyptian embalmers and funerary priests in the prestigious necropolis of Hawara. This article suggests the identification of the undertakers with a family of Persians of the *epigone* and Macedonians, who were parties in two Greek documents from the Rylands collection, on the basis of onomastics. Corrections to earlier readings are proposed and the multi-faceted identity of the family members is examined and revealed.

¹ Much has been written about ethnicity: for a recent overview see C. Riggs and J. Baines, "Ethnicity," in J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles 2012), accessible through http://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee. — I am indebted to Mark Depauw for discussing previous drafts with me and to Willy Clarysse for his useful suggestions and help with reading the Greek papyri.

The Hawara Undertakers Archives and P.Ryl. 4.587 and 588

In the early 20th century, during illegal diggings near the pyramid of Hawara, a set of Demotic and Greek texts was found, which are now scattered around the world. Together they form the so-called “Hawara undertakers archives.” In total, 76 Demotic and five Greek texts have been ascribed to the archives, and they can be divided into two groups.² The older papyri (*ca.* 350-175 BC) belong to the family of a certain Achomneus, while the more recent ones shed light on three different families, living and working at Hawara between 150 and 30 BC.

One of these families comprises the descendants of the chief sealer and embalmer Maresisouchos I (see the family tree in Figure 5).³ With his wife Taesis he had at least three children: two sons, Harmais II and Koloulis, and one daughter, whose name is not preserved. Sometime before 98 BC, Harmais II married Tamarres I. The couple had a son, Harmais III and a daughter, Tamestasymtis. In 98 BC Harmais II married a second time, with Terpos daughter of Pelois. Together they already had two sons, Psyllos and Petesouchos. Koloulis married Ta-n’y and they had two sons: Harmais IV and Pempas. The latter married his cousin Tamestasymtis in 100 BC. The daughter of Maresisouchos married Leon alias Sesophnois. When Sesophnois died, his possessions were divided among his three sons: Phantias alias Pais, Pasion alias Pasis and Apollonios alias Haryothes.

The names of the parties involved in two Greek documents make an identification with this family in the Hawara undertakers archive attractive. *P.Ryl.* 4.587 (= TM 5303)⁴ is a Greek loan contract, written on 9 February 87 BC in a village of the *meris* of Polemon in the Arsinoite nome.⁵ According to the original reading, a creditor Paos son of Onnophris lends two copper talents and 2,500 drachmas to the brothers Psillous and Peteesis alias Petesouchos, sons of Agathinos alias Harmais, Persians of the *epigone*, and to their mother Methy[...] alias Terpos, daughter of Dionysios alias Petois, Persian.

² For the history of the archive, see I. Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village* (Leuven 2009) 259-264.

³ Family II in Uytterhoeven (n. 2) 844. See pp. 340-347 for a complete overview of the texts related to this family.

⁴ TM numbers refer to the online version of the texts database in Trismegistos (accessible through <http://www.trismegistos.org/>) in which all metadata for a text can be found. Likewise, quoted Nam_id numbers refer to the online version of the names database (<http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/search.php>) and Geo_id numbers to the places database (<http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/index.php>).

⁵ Tebtynis according to the editor, but rather Mouchis according to the new reading (see *infra*).

In *P.Ryl.* 4.588 (= TM 5304), a receipt from 19 September 78 BC, Sochotes son of Sesnosis acknowledges that Sosibios alias Psellos and Ptolemaios alias Petesouchos, sons of Protarchos alias Harmais have repaid the money, which they had borrowed together with their brother Protarchos alias Harmais six and a half years before. The two brothers are described as Macedonians, but it is also explicitly stated that in the loan contract they were styled Persians of the *epigone*.

The combination of the names of two brothers Psyllos and Petesouchos, together with a father Harmais and a mother Terpos, in both the Hawara archive and *P.Ryl.* 4.587 and 588 can hardly be a coincidence, and this onomastic argument for the identification of the families as one and the same will be further examined in the next section.

It may also be significant that the branch of the Hawara archives that documents the homonymous individuals made its appearance in the museums between 1911 and 1935⁶ and that the publication numbers *P.Ryl.* 4.587 and 588 suggest an acquisition date between 1901 and 1920.⁷ Moreover, the John Rylands Library possesses another Greek papyrus that has long been acknowledged to belong to the Hawara archive (*P.Ryl.* 4.577 = TM 5297).

The Onomastic Evidence

The rare name Psyllos appears in multiple variants, both in Greek and in Egyptian.⁸ The name of the son of Harmais II in *P.Hawara* is written as *Psyls*, *P3-sllws*, *Psyllws*, *Psł3ws*, *Psł3lws*, *Psyl3s*, *Pslłws*, *Psylws*, *Ψύλλος*, *Ψέλλος* and *Ψίλλος*. The *Ψίλλοῦς* and *Ψίλοῦτις*⁹ from *P.Ryl.* 4.587 are new variants of the same name. The alphabetic writings in Demotic indicate that the etymology of the name was unknown to the scribes, but the many Greek variants do not point to a common Greek name either. The use of the name in *P.Ryl.* 4.588,

⁶ Uytterhoeven (n. 2) 262.

⁷ The papyri from the John Rylands Library can be divided into two categories. A first batch was acquired by J.L. Lindsay, B.P. Grenfell, and A.S. Hunt between 1898 and 1901 and subsequently bought by Enriqueta Rylands. The second group was bought for the John Rylands Library through Grenfell, Hunt, and J.R. Harris from 1901 up to about 1920. In view of their high reference numbers, the two papyri probably belonged to the later purchases of the collection. I should like to thank John Hodgson, Collections and Research Support Manager of the John Rylands University Library, who kindly provided me with this information.

⁸ Psyllos: Nam_id 1004.

⁹ *Ψίλοῦτις* could be a false nominative, which the scribe created based on the dative case *Ψίλλοῦτι* (< *Ψίλλοῦς*) in line 1.

however, suggests an Egyptian origin (see *infra*). Apart from Psyllos son of Harmais II and the two attestations in *P.Ryl.*, only 13 persons bear this name, and just two of them are dated to the Ptolemaic Period.¹⁰

At first sight, several elements seem to oppose an identification of the three men named Psyllos son of Harmais as one person. Whereas in *P.Ryl.* 4.587 Psyllos has a brother Petesouchos with a second name Peteesis, in 588 his brother's second name reads Ptolemaios. The Egyptian name of his maternal grandfather in the documents from the Hawara archive is *P3y=y-mr-ih* (in Greek transcribed Πελώϊς), while in *P.Ryl.* 4.587 his mother is called Methy[...] alias Terpos, daughter of Dionysios alias Petois. Finally, the second name of Psyllos' father in 588 is Protarchos whereas he is called Agathinos in 587.

However, although the second name of Petesouchos is read three times Peteesis in *P.Ryl.* 4.587 (lines 1, 7, and 26), in all cases the reading is uncertain. Based on the second name of Petesouchos in 588, the readings in lines 7 and 26 (figure 1) can now be corrected to Π[τ][ολ]εμαίωι and Πτολ[εμ]αῖος respectively. In line 1, the beginning of the name is written above another name (Αρμ[...]), cancelled with ink, which it is meant to replace, and the original editors supplement Πετ[ε]σιώι. In view of the Egyptian names of the other family members used here, we should rather read Πε[τε]σοῦχωι.

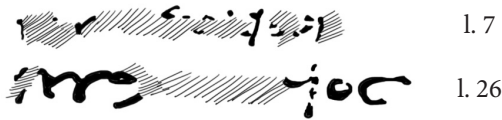


Figure 1: The original reading Πετέησις can be corrected to Πτολεμαῖος

Terpos, the name of the second wife of Harmais II and mother of Psyllos, is a rare name.¹¹ Besides the Terpos from *P.Hawara* and *P.Ryl.*, only one woman in *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59569 is called by that name. The Demotic writing *T3-rp3.t* with a vegetal determinative, suggests that the Egyptian name refers to a plant.¹² Whereas in *P.Hawara* 14 (TM 41467; 98 BC), Psyllos' mother is called *T3-rp3.t s3.t P3y=y-mr-ih* in the main text, which transcribes Θερπῶτι Πελώϊος in the Greek subscription, the name of Terpos' father was read Petois in *P.Ryl.* 4.587. The triple reading of Πετώϊος in lines 2, 10, and 29 in *P.Ryl.* 4.587 can, however, be corrected to Πελώϊος. As shown in Figure 2, the third letter in the name

¹⁰ *O.Eleph.DAIK* 337 descr., line 2 (TM74481; 199-100 BC) and Pisa, Università O. dem. 242 and 779, line x+2 (TM 52002; 146-132? BC).

¹¹ Terpos: Nam_id 6218.

¹² Chicago Demotic Dictionary R (2001), s.v. *rp3* "fresh plants, greens."

(left) is more similar to the *lambda* in Ψιλλ(ους) in line 7 (right, bottom) than to the *tau* in Πετ(έσουχος) on line 8 (right, top).

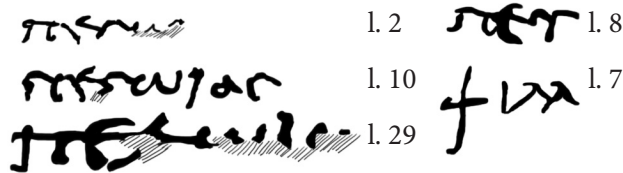


Figure 2: The original reading Πετώιος can be corrected to Πελώιος

When these new readings are applied to the texts, the related lines of *P.Ryl.* 4.587 and 588 can be read as follows:

P.Ryl. 4.587 (Figure 3)

- 1 ἐδ(άνεισεν) [Πάως] Ὀννώ(φριος) Ἀρσι(νοίτης) Ψιλλοῦτι καὶ
 \Πε[τεσούχῳ τοῦ]/ [Ἄρμ[αiei]]
 Ἄρμ[αι]ος <τοῖς> β καὶ ἡ μή(τηρ) Τέρπως Πέλ[ω]ιος [Περσίνη]
 χα(λκοῦ) [(τάλαντα) β] Βφ
- βασιλεῦοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Σωτήρος ἔτους
 τριακοστοῦ ἔφ' ἱερέως Ἀλεξάνδρ[ου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν]
 5 γραφομένων ἐν Ἀλ[εξανδρεῖαι] μην]ὸς Δύστρου ἐνάτη καὶ εἰκά[δ]ι,
 [Τῦβι ἐνάτη καὶ]
 εἰκάδι ἐν Μου[.]χει τῆς Πτολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινότου.
 ἐδάνεισεν
 Πάως Ὀννώφριος Ἀρσινότης Ψιλλοῦτι καὶ Π[τ]ολ[ε]μαίῳ
 τῷ καὶ Πετ[ε]σούχῳ οἱ δύο Ἀγαθίνου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρμ[α]ίου Πέρσα[ις]
 τῆς ἐπιγονῆς καὶ τ[ῆ]ι τούτων μητρὶ Μεθ[. . .] τῇ καὶ]
 10 Τερπῶτι Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Πέλ[ω]ιος Περσίνη μετ[ὰ κυρίου]
 Ψιλλοῦ τοῦ καὶ προγεγραμμένου αὐτῆς υἱοῦ
- 26 Ψίλουτις καὶ Πτολ[ε]μαῖος δς καὶ Πετέσουχ[ος]
 οἱ δύο Ἀγαθίνου τ[ο]ῦ καὶ Ἀρμαιο[ς] Πέρσαι [τῆς]
 ἐπιγονῆς καὶ ἡ τούτων μήτηρ Μεθ[. . .]
 ἡ καὶ Τέρπ[ω]ς Δι[ονυ]σίοντος καὶ Πέλ[ω]ιος [Περσί-]
 30 νη

1 *ed.pr.* [Ἄρμ[αίωι]] 2 *l.* τῇ μη(τρί); 3 *ed.pr.* συγγραφοφ(ύλαξ) Ἡρακ(λείδης) 4-5 *ed.pr.* βασιλέως Πτολεμ[α]ίου θεοῦ Σωτήρος ἔτους τριακοστοῦ ἔφ' ἰ[ερέως] τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρ[ου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν] γραφομένων ἐν Ἀλεξ[ανδρείαι] μ[η]νός 6 *ed.pr.* Τεβτ[ύ]νει 8 *l.* τοῖς δυσί 11 *ed.pr.* Ψιλλοῦ<τος> 30 *l.* Περσίνη

“Paos son of Onnophris, Arsinoite, has loaned to Psyllos and Petesouchos, sons of Harmais, the two, and (to) their mother Terpos, daughter of Pellois, [Persian (?)], 2 copper talents, 2,500 drachmas ...

In the 30th year of King Ptolemy son of Ptolemy, Soter, when (NN) was priest of Alexander and the rest of the formula of Alexandria, on the 29th of the month Dystros, 29th Tybi, in Mouchis in the division of Polemon in the Arsinoite nome. Paos son of Onnophris, Arsinoite, has loaned to Psyllos and Ptolemaios alias Petesouchos, both sons of Agathinos alias Harmais, Persians of the *epigone*, and to their mother Meth... alias Terpos, daughter of Dionysios alias Pellois, Persian, with the aforementioned Psyllos, her son, acting as guardian ...

We, Psyloutis (?) and Ptolemaios alias Petesouchos both sons of Agathinos alias Harmais, Persians of the *epigone*, and their mother Methy... alias Terpos, daughter of Dionysios alias Pellois, Persian ...”

1 The expected form for an Egyptian origin indication in this period is ὁ δεῖνα τῶν ἀπὸ ... (E. Bickermann, “Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte. I. Der Heimatsvermerk und die staatsrechtliche Stellung der Hellenen im ptolemäischen Ägypten,” *APF* 8 [1927] 216-239, esp. 234-235). Apart from the four attestations in *P.Ryl.* 4 587 and 588, only 14 Ptolemaic examples of the use of Ἀρσινοίτης in personal descriptions are known (*P.Col.Zen.* 2.106 (5x) (TM 1819; 260-227 BC); *SB* 18.13693 (TM 2579; 260-30 BC); *P.Lille* 1.56 (TM 3261; 239 BC); *P.Lille* 1.57 (TM 3262; 239 BC); *P.Yale* 1.51 (TM 2974; 184 BC); *P.Amh.* 2.43 (TM 2650; 173 BC); *UPZ* 1.119 (TM 3511; 156 BC); *P.Strasb.* 2.115 (TM 3942; 148 BC) and *Pap.Congr.XXV* (Ann Arbor 2007) 763-776 (2x) (TM 128573; 148 BC). It is unlikely that this origin indication refers to the city of Arsinoe, since Krokodilon polis is not called Arsinoe before the end of the first century BC. From Ptolemy VIII onwards the official name is Ptolemais Euergetis. If the origin indication refers to one of the villages called Arsinoe in the Arsinoites (Geo_id 325 and 326), we would expect the τῶν ἀπὸ ... construction. If Ἀρσινοίτης refers to an inhabitant of the Arsinoites nome, the question remains why the scribe used this origin indication instead of the usual reference to a village or town.

3 The last part of the *scriptura interior* is unintelligible.

6 Here too the *Verschleifung* makes the text difficult to read. Although there indeed seems to be a letter missing, the reading ΜΟΥ[.]ΧΕΙ fits the preserved traces well. The Demotic contract between the brothers Psyllos and Petesouchos *P.Hawara* 19a/b (TM41474; 85 BC) is also registered in Mouchis (πέπτωκεν εἰς ἀναγρα(φὴν) ἐν Μού(χει) τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος). This text was dated to 85 BC by E. Lüddeckens but W. Huss, “Zur Invasion Ptolemaios’ VIII. Soters II. in Ägypten (103 v. Chr.),” *ZPE* 157 (2006) 168, suggests to date it to 103 BC on the basis of the regnal year. This earlier date, however, does not match with the period of activity of the brothers (ca. 92–67 BC).

P.Ryl. 4.588 (Figure 4)

5 ὁμολ[ογ]εῖ Σο[χ]ώτης
 Σεσ[ο]γγώσιος Ἀρ[σιν]οεῖ[της] Σωσιβίωι τῶι <καί> Ψέλ[λ]ωι καὶ
 Πτολεμαίωι τ[ῶι κα]ὶ Πετεσοῦχωι τοῖς δυ[σ]ι Πρωτάρχου
 τ[ο]ῦ καὶ Ἄρμαι[ος] Μα[κε]δόσι, καθὰ δὲ συνήλ[λα]ξαν
 Π[έ]ρσαι τῆς ἐ[πι]γον[ῆς], ἀπέχριν παρ' αὐτ[ῶ]ν ὑπέρ
 10 τε αὐτῶν κ[αὶ] ὑπέρ τ[ο]ῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν [Πρ]ωτάρχου
 τοῦ καὶ Ἄρμα[ιος] τοῦ Πρωτάρχου

5-6 *ed.pr.* Σο[χ]ώτης Σεσνώσιος

“Sochotes son of Sesongosis, Arsinoite, acknowledges to Sosibios alias Psellos and Ptolemaios alias Petesouchos, both sons of Protarchos alias Harmais, Macedonians, but according to the agreement Persians of the *epigone*, that he has received from them on their own behalf and on behalf of their brother Protarchos alias Harmais son of Protarchos”

6 A person with the same name and patronymic (although here written S-wsr) appears as a witness in *P.Hawara* 13.v.6 (TM41466; 99 BC). On the name Sesongosis as a variant of Sesoosis and Sesostris, see W. Clarysse, “Some Notes on the Gurob Papyri with a Re-edition of P. Gurob 14 + 16,” *AncSoc* 4 (1973)

140, and M. Malaise, "Sésostris. Pharaon de légende et d'histoire," *CdÉ* 41 (1966) 244-249. On the use of *Arsinoites* as origin indication, see commentary to l. 1 of *P.Ryl.* 4.587 above.

The reading of the Greek names of the father Harmais, Agathinos in *P.Ryl.* 4.587 and Protarchos in 588, is certain. Given that the preceding onomastic evidence strongly supports the identification of the families as one, Harmais alias Agathinos and Harmais alias Protarchos have to be the same person. It is possible that one of the scribes made a mistake and in the case of 588 he would have mistaken twice, since in lines 6-8 Sosibios alias Psyllos and Ptolemaios alias Petesouchos are both called sons of Protarchos alias Harmais and in lines 10-11 their brother Protarchos alias Harmais is also called son of Protarchos. On the other hand, the double name of the son Protarchos alias Harmais, who is not mentioned in 587, might have caused some confusion with regard to the double name of the father in 588. An alternative interpretation, where no mistake is involved, has consequences for our understanding of the use of double names in Ptolemaic Egypt and will be discussed below.

The Greek Identity of Egyptian Undertakers

The identification of Harmais and his sons illustrates a new side of the family whose activities thus far all took place in the Egyptian funerary sphere and were only known through Demotic texts, including contracts of sale and cession as well as annuity and donation contracts. Only one Demotic loan of money had been recorded so far, namely *P.Hawara* 20 (TM 41476). In this contract dated to 84 BC, Koloulis and his sons Pempas and Harmais IV promise to their cousins Harmais, Psyllos and Petesouchos to repay a debt of 171 deben (= 3420 drachmas), a rather small amount for this period.¹³ In the Greek contracts *P.Ryl.* 4.587 and 588 on the other hand, the substantial sums of two copper talents and 2,500 drachmas (12,500 drachmas) and eight copper talents and 2,500 drachmas (48,500 drachmas) respectively are transacted. Apparently, for large amounts of money the redaction of the contract by a Greek scribe was preferred, whereas for smaller amounts a Demotic contract was sufficient.¹⁴

¹³ Between 130-30 BC, the monthly wage of a laborer ranged between 1500 and 3600 drachmas. See W. Clarysse and E. Lanciers, "Currency and the Dating of Demotic and Greek Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period," *AncSoc* 20 (1989) 117.

¹⁴ The same conclusion obtains for Pathyris: K. Vandorpe, "Apollonia, a Business-Woman in a Multicultural Society (Pathyris, 2nd-1st Centuries B.C.)," in H. Melaerts and L. Mooren (eds.), *Le rôle et le statut de la femme en Egypte hellénistique, romaine et byzantine* (Leuven 2002) 330-331, and M. Vierros, "Greek or Egyptian? The Language

Although the former may have carried a higher cost, when problems about repayment arose, the use of the Greek language offered more opportunities: petitions could be written to state officials and the case could be taken to Greek court without need for translations.¹⁵

Not only did the function of the Demotic texts differ from that of the Greek contracts, the two types of documents also provide us with different information on the identity of the family members. From the Demotic documents, the professional activities of Harmais II and his sons Harmais III, Psyllos and Petesouchos are known.¹⁶

Name	Title	Reference
Harmais II	<i>mr-ḥtmw wyt ḥr-ḥb t3 ḥ3s.t Ḥ.t-wry</i> = chief (god's) sealer (and) embalmer (of) the necropolis of Hawara	10.9
	<i>ḥtmw(-ntr) wyt t3 ḥ3s.t Ḥ.t-wry</i> = (god's) sealer and embalmer of the ne- cropolis of Hawara	14.1; 16α.2; 16β.2; 17α.2; 17β.2
Harmais III	<i>ḥtmw wyt t3 ḥ3s.t Ḥ.t-wry</i>	16α.13; 16β.13
	<i>ḥtmw wyt</i> = sealer and embalmer	17α.18; 17β.18-19

Choice in Ptolemaic Documents from Pathyris," in A. Delattre and P. Heilporn (eds.), *"Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages ...": Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine* (Bruxelles 2008) 77 and 83-84.

¹⁵ From the early second century BC onwards, the Greek judicial boards (*chrematistai*) gradually became the regular court of law, despite the efforts of Ptolemy VIII to maintain the jurisdiction of the *laokritai*. See H.J. Wolff, *Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer* (München 1970) 87, 204, and J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, "Chrématistes et laocrites," in J. Bingen, G. Cambier, and G. Nachtergaele (eds.), *Le monde grec: pensée, littérature, histoire, documents. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Bruxelles 1975) 699-708. On Greek subscriptions and the progressive preference of Greek contracts to ones written in Demotic, see J.G. Manning, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt under the Ptolemies, 305-30 BC* (Princeton 2010) 165-201 (Chapter 6: Order and Law) and U. Yiftach-Firanko, "Law in Graeco-Roman Egypt: Hellenization, Fusion, Romanization," in R.S. Bagnall (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 541-560.

¹⁶ The numbers in the following table refer to the texts in E. Lüddeckens, *Demotische Urkunden aus Hawara* (VOHD Supplementband 28; Stuttgart 1998). E.g. 10.9 refers to *P.Hawara* 10, line 9.

Psylos	<i>ḥtmw wyt t3 ḥ3s.t Ḥ.t-wry</i>	17α.3; 17β.3; 18.5-6
	<i>mr-ḥtmw wyt b3k Sbk</i>	19α.2; 19β.2
	= chief sealer and embalmer, servant of Souchos	
	<i>(nty ḥn n3 ḥry-ḥb.w t3 ḥ3s.t)</i>	22.7
	= who belongs to the lector priests of the necropolis	
Petesouchos	<i>mr-ḥtmw wyt t3 ḥ3s.t tmy Sbk Ḥ.t-wry</i>	23.3
	<i>nty ḥn n3 ' .wy.w bnr n tny Hr3qlṯs p3 tš 3rsyn3</i>	
	= chief sealer and embalmer of the necropolis of the Souchos village Hawara that lies in the Exo Topoi of the <i>meris</i> of Herakleides in the Arsinoite nome	
	<i>ḥtmw wyt t3 ḥ3s.t Ḥ.t-wry</i>	17α.3; 17β.3
	<i>mr-ḥtmw wyt b3k Sbk</i>	19α.2; 19β.2
	<i>(nty ḥn n3 ḥry-ḥb.w t3 ḥ3s.t)</i>	22.7
	ταριχ[ευ]τοῦ τῶν ἐ[κ] τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 4.577
	= embalmer of the men from the Labyrinth	

The Demotic titles “sealer,” “embalmer,” and “lector priest” all refer to the funerary activities of the family members as necropolis personnel.¹⁷ Only once is a Greek equivalent given for the titles of Petesouchos, namely ταριχευτής. According to Diodorus Siculus (1.91.5) “those who are called *taricheutai* enjoy all honour and respect” (οἱ ταριχευταὶ δὲ καλούμενοι πάσης μὲν τιμῆς καὶ πολυωρίας ἀξιοῦνται). The fair amount of real estate the Hawara undertakers possessed (and continuously transacted with) also suggests their relatively high economic position.¹⁸

In *P.Ryl.* 4.587 and 588, no mention is made of the religious titles of the family members. Instead, they are called Πέρσαι (τῆς ἐπιγονῆς) in 587 and

¹⁷ For a discussion of those titles, see Uytterhoeven (n. 2) 361-371 and M. Cannata, “God’s Seal-Bearers, Lector-Priests and Choachytes: Who’s Who at Memphis and Hawara,” in G. Widmer and D. Devauchelle (eds.), *Actes du IXe congrès international des études démotiques* (Le Caire 2009) 57-68.

¹⁸ Uytterhoeven (n. 2) 383-393 and *P.Chic.Haw.*, p. 4.

Μακεδόνες in 588. These ethnic designations are particularly common in Greek contracts, whose contents and identification methods of the parties were directed by the Ptolemaic administration through a royal ordinance (*prostagma*), issued in the early third century BC.¹⁹ Ethnicity, or indication of origin, was an important criterion to define an individual's identity. However, already early in the Ptolemaic Period, these ethnic designations no longer referred to origin, but to social and/or legal classes with certain privileges or obligations.²⁰ These "legal ethnic designations" could be inherited by birth, but one could also change class during one's lifetime.²¹ Indeed, the expression [Μα]κεδόσι καθὰ δὲ συνήλ[λα]ξαν Π[έ]ρσαι τῆς ἐ[πιγον]ῆς in 588 had made the original editors of the text conclude "that the designation Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς does not indicate Persian nationality or race or a population class," but also that the expression was "a legal fiction voluntarily submitted to by debtors etc., in contracts, the effect of which was to provide additional security for the creditor." According to their interpretation, which was accepted by Pestman,²² our protagonists were Macedonians, who had taken on the fictional, legal status of "Persians of the *epigone*." Such a fictional status certainly existed in the Roman period, but for the Ptolemaic period it is debatable. According to Vandorpe there is no proof that this ethnic was a juridical fiction submitted to by debtors. "Rather, at the time of the original loan, the debtors in fact bore the legal ethnic designation of 'Persian of the *epigone*.'" ²³ In her view, Harmais and his sons, an Egyptian family of necropolis personnel, were Hellenized by 87 BC at the latest, when they were called Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς and later, between 84 and 78 BC, were "promoted" to the class of Μακεδόνες.

At some point, either through the social in-between class of Persians or, in case of acceptance of the fictionality of the status "Persian of the *epigone*," directly, the family reached the status of Macedonians. How or why this promotion took place, is uncertain. Upward social mobility was possible for Egypt-

¹⁹The original text is lost, but other documents provide us with parts of the ordinance: *P.Hamb.* 2.168 (TM 4322; 275-225 BC) and *BGU* 14.2367 (TM 2698; 225-200 BC).

²⁰On the evolution of the expression of ethnicity, see C. Fischer-Bovet, "Ethnic Identity and Status: Comparing Ptolemaic and Early Roman Egypt," in H. Ziche (ed.) *Identity and Identification in Antiquity* (Cambridge, forthcoming), Chapter One.

²¹See, e.g., K. Vandorpe, "Persian Soldiers and Persians of the Epigone: Social Mobility of Soldiers-Herdsman in Upper Egypt," *APF* 54 (2008) 87-108.

²²P.W. Pestman, "A proposito dei documenti di Pathyris II," *Aegyptus* 43 (1963) 15-53, and P.W. Pestman and E. Boswinkel, *Les archives privées de Dionysios, fils de Kephala* (Leiden 1982) 53-56.

²³Vandorpe (n. 21) 106-107.

tians entering the army or the Ptolemaic administration.²⁴ Perhaps the family of Harmais got involved in those domains through their work in the necropolis. This well-to-do Egyptian personnel certainly came into contact with the Greek community. Several of their clients were Greeks. In their lists of funerary property, many Greek names are found and two gilt-faced masks and a tombstone with Greek names have also been discovered at Hawara.²⁵ Moreover, as a priestly family they might have been involved in the Ptolemaic administration and may have entered the category of the Hellenes in this fashion.²⁶

Bilingual Double Names

In the two Greek documents, Harmais and his family, alongside their Greek ethnic, display a Greek name in addition to their Egyptian one. Whereas Ptolemaios and Dionysios are popular Greek names in the Ptolemaic Period (1492 and 851 persons respectively²⁷), the names Protarchos and Sosibios are less common (174 and 63 persons respectively²⁸) and Agathinos is a rare name (17 persons²⁹). The second name of the mother Terpos is damaged, but Methy[...] is perhaps also Greek and to be connected with μεθύσκω, “to be drunk.”³⁰

²⁴ See e.g. W. Clarysse, “Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration,” *Aegyptus* 65 (1985) 57–66.

²⁵ SB 1.3971 (TM 8718); BGU 17.2683 (TM 18122); *I.Fayoum* 1.51 (TM8640). See Uytterhoeven (n. 2) 507.

²⁶ For priests in the Ptolemaic administration, see W. Clarysse, “Egyptian Temples and Priests: Graeco-Roman,” in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt* (Malden 2010) 283–285, and G. Gorre, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides d’après les sources privées* (Leuven 2009) 257–603. On priests becoming tax-Hellenes, see W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt 2* (Cambridge 2006) 138–147.

²⁷ Ptolemaios: Nam_id 5317. Dionysios: Nam_id 2811.

²⁸ Protarchos: Nam_id 5308. Sosibios: Nam_id 5932.

²⁹ Agathinos: Nam_id 1757.

³⁰ This reference to drunkenness also existed in Egyptian onomastics. For example the name Nebtichis (*Nb.t-thy*) means “mistress of drunkenness” (referring to the Lion-goddess). The last element of the name, *thy*, is often written with the plant determinative, as is the case with the name Terpos. For the theological meaning of drunkenness, see J.-C. Goyon, “Hathor, l’ivraie et l’ivresse,” *Bulletin du Cercle Lyonnais d’Égyptologie Victor Loret* 6 (1992) 7–16.

<i>Egyptian name</i>	<i>Greek name</i>
Harmais II	Agathinos (or) Protarchos
Harmais III	Protarchos
Psyllos	Sosibios
Petesouchos	Ptolemaios
Terpos	Methy[...]
Pelois	Dionysios

Why a specific Egyptian name is linked with a certain Greek name is often unclear. In my study on the use of double names in the Ptolemaic Period, 166 persons with a Greco-Egyptian double name are recorded.³¹ For about half of them a possible relationship between the names can be found. Some names are semantically related: e.g., Morsis alias Pyrros, an actual translation (both meaning “red(haired)”) or the more freely translated combinations such as Zois alias Anchosis (both having to do with “life”). Mostly the names include two corresponding gods, e.g., Apollonios alias Horos.³² Another possible connection between the Egyptian and the Greek name is phonetic similarity, e.g. Thais alias Taesis or Archibios alias Harchebis. For the other half of the bilingual double names, the link between the Greek and Egyptian name is unclear. Naming after family members also may have played a decisive role in some cases, but information about this is usually lacking. The motivation behind Harmais’ and his family’s use of these specific combinations similarly remains unclear, especially for the less common names Protarchos, Sosibios, and Agathinos. With four other persons bearing the same pair of names, Ptolemaios alias Petesouchos seems to have been a popular combination. However, this may be due to the banality of both names (1492 persons with the name Ptolemaios and around 970 named Petesouchos, most of the latter in the Arsinoite nome).

Harmais and his wife and sons were not the only family members with a bilingual double name. The husband and children of Harmais II’s sister also combined their Egyptian names with Greek ones: Leon alias Sesophnois, Phnias alias Pais, Pasion alias Pasis, and Apollonios alias Haryothes.³³ Here the

³¹ S. Coussement, *Because I am Greek: Polyonymy and the Expression of Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt* (dissertation Leuven 2012).

³² For their identification, see e.g. Hdt. 2.144 (ὑστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι Ὀρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνες ὀνομάζουσι) and 156 (Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὀρος).

³³ Their double names are only used in the Greek contract *PAshm*. 1.22 (TM 2655). For the reading, see K.-T. Zauzich, “Sesophnois aus Hawara,” *Enchoria* 6 (1976) 129-130, and W. Clarysse, “Sesophmois from Hawara,” *Enchoria* 29 (2004) 182-184.

reasons are more transparent: Sesophnois meaning “Sesostris the lion” combined with Leon, Horos using his Greek equivalent Apollonios, and Pais and Pasis both playing with assonance.

The Greek identity of the Hawara undertakers would have remained hidden if it had not been for these two Greek contracts. After 87 BC they kept drawing up contracts in the Egyptian language, using Egyptian notaries and displaying their Egyptian names. Their Greek names only appear in the Greek contracts, and even then in combination with their Egyptian names. Many persons with bilingual double names also used both names in Demotic documents. Most attestations, however, in Demotic as well as Greek, come from official texts such as contracts and petitions. When the same persons appear in private communication, in many instances only their Egyptian name was used. Perhaps the Hellenization of some families was merely superficial, for official use only.³⁴ When entering, by whatever means, the Greek side of society, it was felt appropriate to assume a Greek name. Apart from Harmais alias Agathinos alias Protarchos, only one other instance is known of a person combining an Egyptian name with two Greek names. Senabollous, the mother of the famous archive owner Dionysios alias Plenis alias Paueris (who himself combined two Egyptian names with a Greek one), was called Demetria in a Greek contract and a receipt dated between 113-111 BC (*P.Dion.* 27 and 28). Later on, between 109-104, her second name had changed to Sarapias, and the name Demetria never reappeared. Here too, unfortunately, the reasons for the name change are obscure. How often these Greek names were used in daily life and how dear they were to their owners, remains a difficult question. Perhaps the fact that these individuals, at a certain point in time, apparently without difficulty exchanged the Greek name they had used until then for a new one says something about the degree of Hellenization of their daily lives?

³⁴ See also S. Scheuble, “Griechen und Ägypter im ptolemäischen Heer – Bemerkungen zum Phänomen der Doppelnamen im ptolemäischen Ägypten,” in R. Rollinger, B. Gufler, M. Lang, and I. Madreiter (eds.), *Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt. Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts* (Wiesbaden 2010) 551-560. For the same conclusion for Pathyris, see K. Vandorpe, “A Successful, but Fragile Biculturalism: The Hellenization Process in the Upper Egyptian Town of Pathyris under Ptolemy VI and VIII,” in A. Jördens and J.F. Quack (eds.), *Ägypten zwischen innerem Zwist und äusserem Druck. Die Zeit Ptolemaios’ VI. bis VIII.* (Wiesbaden 2011) 292-308.

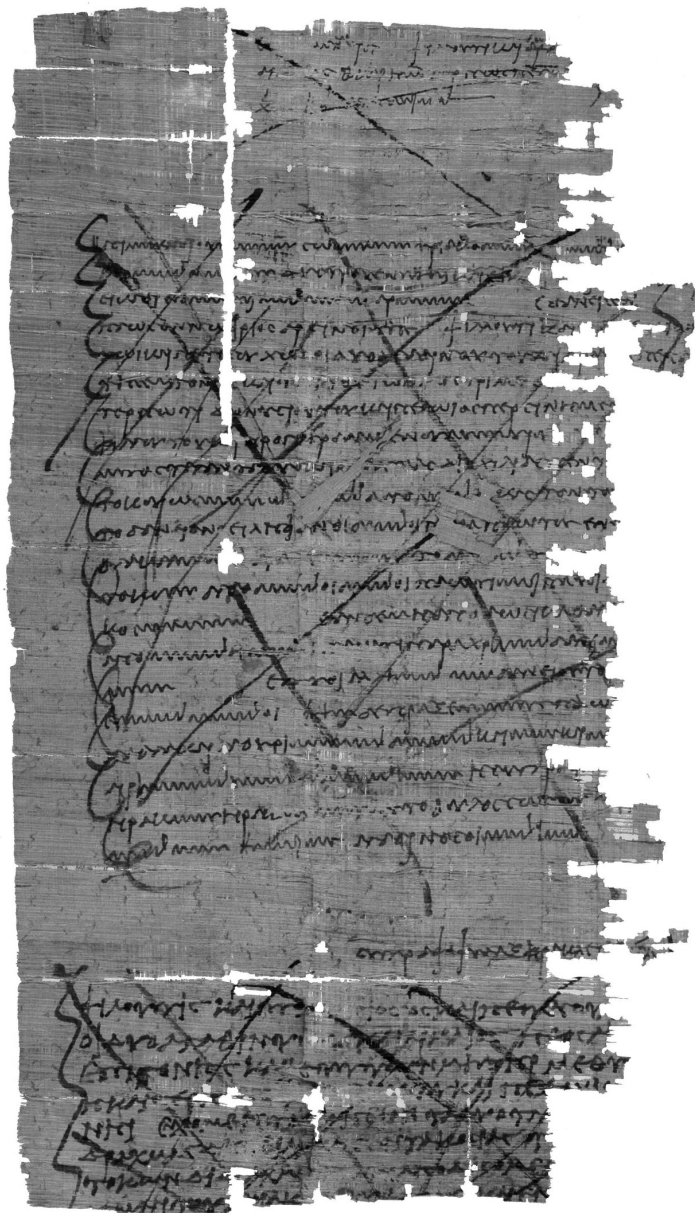


Figure 3: P.Ryl. 4.587 (reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, The John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester)

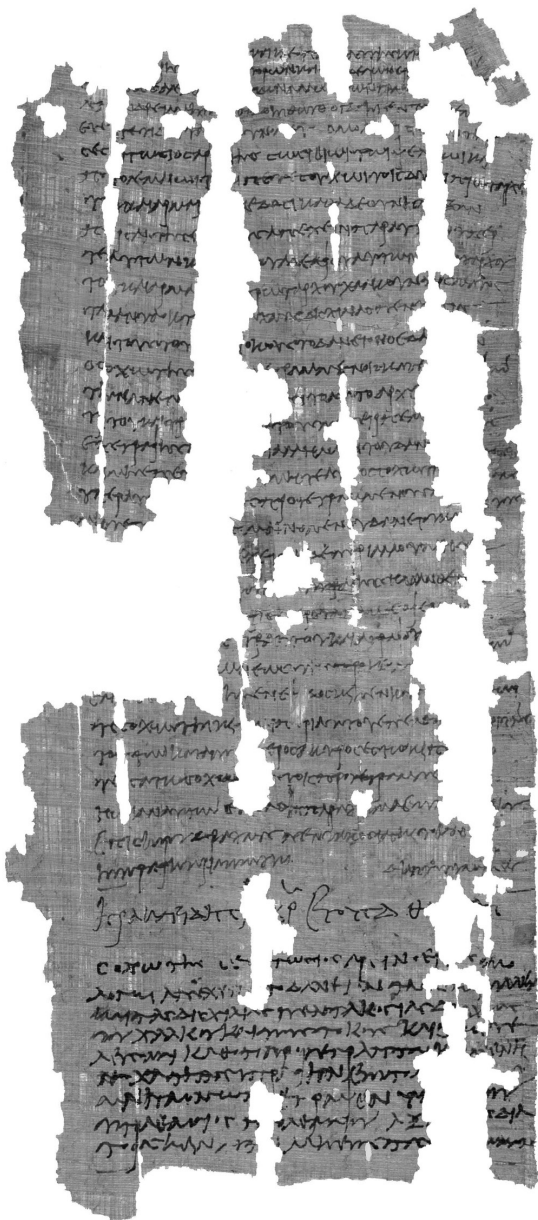


Figure 4: P.Ryl. 4.588 (reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, The John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester).

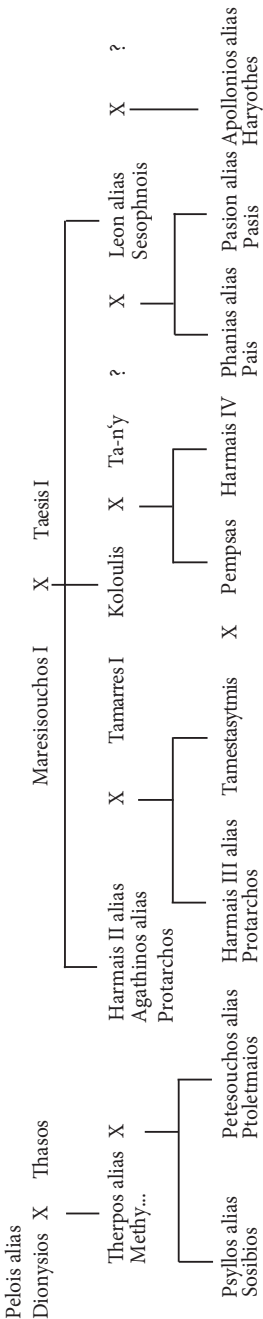


Figure 5: The family of Maresisouchos

PSI 4.311: Early Evidence for “Arianism” at Oxyrhynchus?¹

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Abstract

Re-edition of *PSI* 4.311, a letter with instructions for the delivery of a “letter of peace” destined for Theodotus, the (Arian) bishop of Syrian Laodicea, to an intermediary who will take it to Theodotus. Theodotus will then forward the matters that the “letter of peace” speaks of to yet another person.

Although *PSI* 4.311, a fragmentary letter that dates to the first half of the fourth century, was published nearly a century ago and has been the subject of multiple re-editions, its significance for the study of ancient Christianity at Oxyrhynchus has not been fully realized.² While most treatments of this letter tend to agree that its only significance resides in the fact that it contains instructions for a letter (no longer extant) to be delivered to the well-known bishop Theodotus of Laodicea (Syrian), no attempt has been made to spell out the

¹ I would like to thank Richard E. Bennett for reading a draft of this paper as well as the anonymous reviewers whose insightful feedback has considerably improved the quality of this article. Lastly, I would like to thank the editorial board at *BASP* for accepting this article. For all dates appearing in this article an AD date is to be assumed unless otherwise noted.

² Following its publication as *PSI* 4.311 in 1917 by Giorgio Pasquali it was republished in G. Ghedini, *Lettere cristiane: dai papiri greci del III e IV secolo* (Milano 1923) 154-158 (no. 20); C. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus* 2 (Paris 1924) 389-391 (G); M. Naldini, *Il cristianesimo in Egitto: lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II-IV* (Firenze 1968) 184-187 (no. 39). This letter is also treated in *DACL* 8.2.2790-2791 (no. 34) and J. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri* (Ann Arbor 1933) 170-171. The re-editions and emendations of Ghedini, Naldini, and Winter are reported in *BL* 1, 2.2, 3, and 6; *BL* 1 refers to readings proposed by Ghedini in *Aegyptus* 2 (1921) 107. An image of this papyrus may be viewed in M. Naldini, *Documenti dell'antichità cristiana* (Firenze 1965), pl. 46. The TM number for this papyrus is 33125, and an updated transcription of the papyrus, which accepts the readings of Naldini, is available at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/psi;4;311>.

potential ecclesiastical implications of such contact.³ But given that this is the only letter in the papyri from Oxyrhynchus addressed to a prominent bishop, well known in patristic literature, and that it suggests some kind of early epistolary network between certain Christians at Oxyrhynchus (perhaps even some early bishop)⁴ and Theodotus of Laodicea, it surely deserves more attention.⁵

In what follows it will be argued that this letter serves as evidence for some kind of Arian alliance at Oxyrhynchus during the time it was sent.⁶ Though this

³ While this letter is sometimes cited because it mentions Theodotus of Laodicea, the implications of this reference are never pursued: Winter (n. 2) 170-171; L.G. Modena, "Il cristianesimo ad Ossirinco: papiri letterari e cultura religiosa," *BSAA* 10 (1938-1939) 299; E.J. Epp, "New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts and Letter Carrying in Greco-Roman Times," in B. Pearson et al. (eds.), *The Future of Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (Minneapolis 1991) 49-50; R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 306; M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Turnhout 2006) 127; M. DelCogliano, "The Eusebian Alliance: The Case of Theodotus of Laodicea," *ZAC* 12 (2008) 256, n. 27.

⁴ Given the nature of the letter and the fact that it is addressed to Theodotus, Bagnall suspects that it probably originated "from an Egyptian bishop." See Bagnall (n. 3) 306.

⁵ One other letter from Oxyrhynchus worth mentioning here, since it presupposes long distance correspondence between roughly the same areas, is *SB* 12.10772 (late III). This letter seems to have been sent from Syrian Antioch to Oxyrhynchus. For a lucid treatment of this letter see A. Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge, MA, 2008) 136-144. On issues related to travel and epistolary networks in the letters from Oxyrhynchus, see L. Blumell, *Lettered Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus* (Leiden 2012) 89-154.

⁶ The term Arian is used here with some caution, as it has become increasingly evident in the past few decades that this designation is not an entirely accurate epithet for figures such as Theodotus and others who were caught up on the side opposite Athanasius of Alexandria in the ecclesiastical controversies of the first part of the fourth century. As Athanasius is largely responsible for coining this term and repeatedly uses it pejoratively and sweepingly to malign his opponents, whoever they were, some caution needs to be exercised before readily incorporating Athanasius' terminology. Though some scholars have recently preferred the epithet "Eusebian" instead of "Arian" to describe certain figures like Theodotus, since it is a more neutral term and an argument could be made that this epithet more accurately represents their theological commitments, this study will nevertheless retain the term Arian for the sake of convenience. On the use of the term see J. Lienhard, "The 'Arian' Controversy: Some Categories Reconsidered" *TS* 48 (1987) 415-437; T. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), 14-15; L. Ayres, *Nicea and Its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford 2004) 52-53; M. DelCogliano, "Eusebian Theologies of the Son as Image of God before 341," *IECS* 14 (2006) 482-483; D. Gwynn, *The Eusebians: The Polemic of Athanasius of Alexandria and the Construction of the 'Arian Controversy'* (Oxford 2007); DelCogliano (n. 3) 250-252.

proposal may seem unwarranted, given the fragmentary and terse nature of the letter, a new reading in *PSI* 4.311 combined with a thorough examination of Theodotus’ episcopal career makes this suggestion likely. This article will proceed by first offering an updated transcription of the papyrus in which some new readings are proposed, and this will be followed by a detailed commentary. It will then attempt to highlight the theological significance of this papyrus by sketching out the episcopal career of Theodotus, the bishop of Oxyrhynchus in the aftermath of the Council of Nicaea, and conclude by elucidating one of the new readings in the letter that lends weight to the Arian proposal.⁷

PSI 4.311

H x W = 23.5 x 13 cm

Oxyrhynchus, ca. 330

α[]⁸
[. . .]ομαι γρα[ca. 10]
[. . .]αι εις αν . [ca. 10]
[. .] δε θέλω ασ[ca. 8 ά-]
5 π[ο]δοθῆναι . [ca. 8 αν-]
θρωπος εις τῆν ὑ[πάρχου-]
σαν οικίαν αποδ[. . . .] ἵνα]
εις χεῖρας ἔλθῃ ᾧ [ἐγὼ θέ-]
λω. τούτου χάριν τῷ ἐπισκό-
10 πῳ τῆς Λαυδικίας τῆς πρὸ
δύο μονῶν Αντιοχείας ά-
π[ο]δοθῆναι αὐτὰ θέλω, κά-
κεῖνος ασφαλ[ῶ]ς αὐτὰ πέμ-
πει τῷ ανθρωπ[ῳ] ᾧ βούλο-
15 μαι. τὸν Χρειστ[όν] σοι. <σὺ> οὔ[ν]

⁷ On the whole the evidence for Arianism in the papyri is slim and inconclusive. See Choat (n. 3) 127-131; cf. G. Ghedini “Paganesimo e cristianesimo nelle lettere papiracee greche dei primi secoli dopo Cristo,” *Pap. Congr. IV* (1935) 343-344. P. van Minnen, the editor of *P.Mich.* 18.767 (IV), entitled “An Original Document from the Arian Controversy?” has tentatively suggested that this papyrus, which appears to be the unfinished draft of a letter, could potentially have emanated from the Arian controversy. The letter appears to deal with ecclesiastical politics and a dispute over episcopal authority; it mentions “authorized bishop” (l. 2 αὐθέντην ἐπίσκοπον), “disorder” (l. 3 ἀταξίαν), “Didymus who cons over Homer and perverts (?) Holy Writings” (ll. 6-7 Δίδυμος ὁ τὸν Ὅμηρον μελετῶν καὶ παρα[---] ἑθείας γραφάς).

⁸ The line numbering for this edition differs from all previous editions because they do not start their line count until l. 2 of the present edition.

σὺ ἄπελθε πρ[ὸς] τὸν ἄν-
 [θρωπ]ον κ[αὶ ε]ἰς χεῖρας
 δ[ὸς] αὐτῷ [τὸ] γράμμα
 [εἰρην]ικόν. δ[ιὰ τ]οῦτου ἵνα
 20 [εἰ]ς χεῖρας Θε[ο]δότῳ τῷ
 ἐπισκόπῳ τῇ[ς] Λαυδικίας
 ἀποδῷ· οὕτως γὰρ ἔχει
 καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή. ἐπὶ δὲ δύο
 εἰσὶν Λαυδικίαι μία τῇς
 25 Φρυγίας καὶ μία ἡ κα-
 [τ]ὰ Συρίαν, . []
 — — — — —

Written downward along the left margin across the fibers:

27 [πρ]ὸς τὴν Λαυδικίαν τῆς κοίτης Συρία[ς τ]ῆς πρὸ δύο μονῶν

28 [Α]ντιοχείας· ἐκεῖ ἐστὶν Θεόδοτος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος[ς] αὐτὰ οὖν ἀπόδος σω . . ,

29 *vacat* ἄδελφε ἀσύγκριτε.

13-14 *l.* πέμψει 15 *l.* Χριστόν. σὺ 19 ἵνα παρ. 23 *l.* ἐπεὶ 24 *l.* Λαυδικίαι

“(l. 6ff.) deliver to his house so that they (*neuter*) may go into the hands of him whom I want. For that reason I want them to be delivered to the (10) bishop of Laodicea, which is two stations before Antioch, and that man will send them safely to the one whom I wish. (15) By Christ I beg you! And so you go to the man and deliver the letter of peace into his hands. Through that man, so that he may deliver it (20) into the hands of Theodotus the bishop of Laodicea. For such is in fact the address. But since there are two Laodiceas, one (25) in Phrygia and one in Syria, (he should deliver it?) to Laodicea of Coelesyria, two stations before Antioch. Theodotus is the bishop there. Deliver them (safely?), incomparable brother.”

1 From the marginal note it would seem that there are probably 2-3 lines of text missing before the first line. From the marginal note (ll. 27-28) it would seem that there are probably 2-3 lines of text missing before the first line.

2]ομαι γρά[· Ghedini (*Lettere cristiane*, 156; *Aegyptus* 2 [1921] 107) and Wessely (*Les plus anciens monuments* 2, 389) believed that the most likely reconstruction for this line of text was [βούλ]ομαι γράμματα. While this reconstruction is certainly possible, it should be pointed out that there are also a number of other equally plausible readings for these lacunae: δέχο]μαι γράμματα (*BGU* 2.674.7 [VI]; *P.Apoll.* 63.18 [later VII]); δέ]ομαι γρά[ψαι

(*P.Oxy.* 14.1679.23 [III]); δύν[ομαι γρά[φειν (*P.Tebt.* 3.760.3 [215/4 BC]); etc. Without more context it is nearly impossible to determine which conjectural reading is to be preferred. Naldini left this line as [. . .] . ομαι γρά[and did not fill in the lacunae (*Il cristianesimo*, 185).

3 [. . .] αι εις αν . [: In the *ed.pr.* and in Wessely (*Les plus anciens monuments* 2, 389) the following reconstruction was given [. . .] αι εις αν[τιόχειαν. To this Ghedini added [πέμψ]αι at the start of the line (*Lettere cristiane*, 156; *Aegyptus* 2 [1921] 107). Although all these reconstructions are possible, they are only conjectures, and in the case of Ghedini’s [πέμψ]αι it hinges on his reconstruction of the previous line. Given the number of possibilities with this letter combination, no reading can be established with much certainty. Between the *iota* and *sigma* of εις there is an unusually large space on the papyrus that could easily accommodate two letters. While this gap could signal some kind of word break or sense division, it seems more likely that the space is simply accommodating a long *iota* hanging down from the previous line. Alternative letter combinations could be either]αιει σαν[or]αι ει σαν[; however, no parallels could be found in the DDBDP for either of these possibilities.

4 [. .] δὲ θέλω ἀσ[: The *ed.pr.*, Ghedini (*Lettere cristiane*, 156), and Naldini (*Il cristianesimo*, 185) read [. .] δὲ θέλω ἀ . [. Wessely (*Les plus anciens monuments* 2, 389) expands the text and reads [ἐγὼ] δὲ θέλω ἀσ[φαλῶς.

6-7 τὴν ὑ[πάρχου]σαν οἰκίαν: Neither the *ed.pr.*, Ghedini (*Lettere cristiane*, 156), nor Naldini (*Il cristianesimo*, 185) attempted to fill this lacuna and both the *ed.pr.* and Ghedini read τὸν instead of τὴν. Wessely (*Les plus anciens monuments* 2, 389) reconstructs the lines as follows: τὸν [τόπον καὶ μὴ τὴν τυχοῦ]σαν οἰκίαν. But the major problem with this reconstruction is that it is far too long to fit the lacuna. The proposed reading ὑ[πάρχου]σαν fits remarkably well. It has a parallel in *BGU* 3.998.7 (101 BC): τὴν ὑπάρχουσιν οἰκίαν.

7 ἀποδ[. . . . ἵνα]: The four letters that precede the lacuna are almost certainly the first part of the verb ἀποδίδωμι, which the writer employs frequently throughout the letter (ll. 4-5 and 10-11, ἀποδοθῆναι; l. 21, ἀποδῶ; l. 27, ἀπόδος). However, since there is little context to go on at this point, it is difficult to determine its exact form. In the *ed.pr.* and in Ghedini (*Lettere cristiane*, 156) the lacuna is empty. Wessely (*Les plus anciens monuments* 2, 389) proposed ἀποδ[ότω ἵνα μὴ], J. Winter (*Life and Letters in the Papyri*, 171, n. 2) ἀπόδ[ος ἵνα], and Naldini (*Il cristianesimo*, 186) ἀποδ[ος οὖν ἵνα]. It seems likely that that lacuna contained ἵνα to introduce the subjunctive ἔλθῃ in l. 8, since the writer employs ἵνα in l. 19 to introduce the subjunctive ἀποδῶ in l. 22. Additionally, when ἵνα appears in l. 19, it is immediately followed by εἰς χεῖρας (l. 20), which also appears immediately after this lacuna in l. 8.

8-9 εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθῃ Ϝ̣ [ἐγὼ θέ]λλω: The *ed.pr.* and Ghedini (*Lettere cristiane*, 156) reconstructed the lacuna with [δη]λλω. Wessely (*Les plus anciens monuments* 2, 389) proposed ἔλθῃ Ϝ̣[τινιουν ἀπατη]λλω and Winter (*Life and Letters in the Papyri*, 171, n. 2) suggested [θέ]λλω. Seemingly building upon Winter's proposal, Naldini (*Il cristianesimo*, 186) filled the lacuna with [ἐγὼ θέ]λλω. Naldini's reading seems the most likely for a number of reasons: (1) it makes sense in light of the context of the papyrus; (2) it fills the lacuna nicely as it requires four or five letters; (3) the emphatic ἐγὼ θέλω is attested frequently in the papyri, and elsewhere in the letter the writer employs personal pronouns for emphasis (l. 16); (4) since the writer appears to have had a penchant for repeating certain verbs (ll. 4-5, 10-11, 27 ἀποδίδωμι), this makes it more likely that θέλω was used here since it also appears in ll. 4 and 12; (5) the dative relative pronoun Ϝ̣ that directly proceeds this lacuna also appears in l. 14 accompanied with the related verb for "wishing," βούλομαι.

10 τῆς Λαυδικίας: As is clear in ll. 24-27, the Laodicea being referred to is the one in Coelesyria (Laodicea ad Mare), not the Phrygian Laodicea (Laodicea ad Lycum). As a survey of the papyri reveals, Laodicea in Coelesyria is hardly ever mentioned in them. One other, nearly contemporaneous reference to this Laodicea is found in *P.Ryl.* 4.630.247 (ca. 317-323), which belongs to the archive of Theophanes of Hermopolis. This papyrus, along with *P.Ryl.* 4.627 (early IV), contains a dated list of the travel expenses Theophanes incurred on his round-trip from Hermopolis to Antioch. For a detailed treatment of these texts see J. Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes: Travel, Business, and Daily Life in the Roman Near East* (New Haven 2006).

For the present purposes the Theophanes material is relevant because it may offer some indication of the route taken and the time required to deliver the letter spoken of in *PSI* 4.311. Theophanes left Hermopolis in the middle of March (Phamenoth) and sailed to Babylon (of Egypt = Old Cairo). After a few days rest he went on to Athribis, a city about 50 km north of Babylon on the eastern bank of the Sebennytic Mouth of the Nile, then to Pelusium, and followed the coast of the Levantine Seaboard (*via maris*) until he reached Antioch. Based on a survey of his dated travel expenditures listed in *P.Ryl.* 4.627 he was able to make the trip from Athribis to Antioch in only twenty-four days and averaged about 50 km a day (see Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, 49-50). While one cannot assume that the person delivering the letter mentioned in *PSI* 4.311 took the same route as Theophanes, or made it in about the same amount of time, Theophanes' itinerary is still useful for comparison.

If the bearer of the letter was able to draw on the resources of the *cursus publicus* on his journey, then it is conceivable that he could have delivered the letter relatively quickly, at least by ancient standards (on the Christian use of

the *cursus publicus* see: Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.6; Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 2.12; Ammianus Marcellinus 21.16.18). For letters conducted via the resources of the *cursus publicus* it is estimated that on average a letter would move about 50 Roman miles per day (A.M. Ramsay, “The Speed of the Imperial Post,” *JRS* 15 [1925] 65-69; cf. R. Chevallier, *Roman Roads*, trans. N.H. Field [London 1976] 194-195). While there are notable examples where letters travelled more than a 100 Roman miles in a single day, such speeds represent the rare exceptions required by special circumstances (E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An introduction* [Oxford 1980] 139-140; J. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* [Philadelphia 1986] 214-215; cf. Epp [n. 3] 98). Alternatively, if the letter was being conveyed outside of the resources of the *cursus publicus* by a private individual or by a subdeacon, deacon, or acolyte (such men often conveyed episcopal correspondence; see Ignatius, *Eph.* 2.1; *Phil.* 10.1, 11.1-2; Symm. 10.1, 12.1; Cyprian, *Ep.* 8.1.1; 9.1.1; 20.3.2; 36.1.1; 44.1.1; 47.1.2; 52.1.1; 55.2.1; 59.1.1, 9.4; 67.1.1; 75.1.1; 79.1.1), it could have taken considerably longer to deliver the letter. For letters delivered over long distances it was not uncommon for them to take up to a year or even more for delivery (M. McGuire, “Letters and Letter Carriers in Christian Antiquity,” *CW* 5 [1960] 200; cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 17.1; Jerome, *Ep.* 28, this letter was sent from Augustine to Jerome and took nine years to be delivered because of a series of misfortunes).

10-11 τῆς πρὸ δύο μονῶν Ἀντιοχείας: The Greek μονή is the equivalent to the Latin *mansio* (CGL 2.127.5, 342.27, 327.59, 436.45, 3.411.4, 5). *Mansiones* (pl.) were roadway lodging houses or resting stops/staging points set up at various points along major roads or highways for the state post (*cursus publicus*) or for travelers on official state business (A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 831-834; *P.Köln* 5, pp. 255 and 264). At least in Egypt the evidence suggests that *mansiones* were run and funded by private individuals in their capacity as liturgists (C. Adams, “‘There and Back Again’: Getting around in Roman Egypt,” in C. Adams and R. Laurence [eds.] *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire* [London and New York 2001] 138-166 at 143-144). It would seem that *mansiones* were typically spaced about a day’s journey apart for normal travel (while travelling about Palestine and Egypt [ca. 381-384] Egeria often uses the term *mansio* as a computation for the distance traveled on a particular day on her journey [i.e. a day’s journey]); although couriers on horseback could traverse multiple *mansiones* in a single day (Procopius, *Secret History* 301-305).

Both Theophanes (*P.Ryl.* 4.627v.330-333) and the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (ca. 333, *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 582) agree that the distance between Laodicea and Antioch was 64 Roman miles. While the present letter supposes that Laodicea was “two stations before Antioch” (ll. 27-28) the Pilgrim of Bordeaux

records that there were two *mansiones* between Antioch and Laodicea: Platanus (*mansio platanus*) 16 miles from Laodicea; Catelae (*mansio catelas*) 40 miles from Laodicea (*Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 582).

12-14 κα|κεῖνος ἀσφαλ[ῶ]ς αὐτὰ πέμ|πει: The *ed.pr.* reads κοσ|μῆν ὅσα σφάλ[ματ]α πέμ|πει, and this reading is followed by Ghedini (*Lettere cristiane*, 156). Wessely (*Les plus anciens monuments* 2, 390) prefers instead εἰδὸς | ἐκεῖνος ἀσφαλ[ῆ κ]ατασκο|πείτω and Naldini (*Il cristianesimo*, 186) reads κα|κεῖνος ἀσφαλ[ῶ]ς αὐτὰ [.].|πει.

The present reading for these lines suggests that while the letter of peace will be delivered to Theodotus (esp ll. 15-19), he (κα|κεῖνος) **will forward whatever** comes with them, the repeated αὐτὰ (goods, another letter?). As letters of peace served as effective travel documents for the bearer, they could be presented at multiple locations and were sometimes written as a kind of open letter. For example, *P.Oxy.* 56.3857 (IV), which represents a letter of peace, is addressed τοῖς κατὰ τόπον ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συνleitourgois (“To the beloved brothers and fellow ministers in every locality”). Other “open” letters of peace include: *SB* 16.12304 (III/IV); *P.Oxy.* 8.1162 (IV); *SB* 3.7269 (IV/V). On the other hand, letters of peace could also be quite specific and address a single recipient, as here: *PSI* 3.208 (late III); *PSI* 9.1041 (late III); *P.Alex.* 29 (late III); *P.Oxy.* 36.2785 (late III); *SB* 10.10255 (III/IV).

15 τὸν Χρεῖστ[όν] σοι: **The exact meaning of this line has eluded previous editors.** The *ed.pr.* followed by Ghedini (*Lettere cristiane*, 157) read τὸν χρεῖστ[όν ?] σοι ο[. .] and were unable to make much sense out of this line. Naldini (*Il cristianesimo*, 186) proposed τὸν χρεῖστ[όν] σοι. [. .] and suggested that τὸν χρεῖστ[όν] should perhaps be read as τὸν χρηστ[όν?]. It is curious that after σοι Naldini does not read any other letters, given that the *omicron* is completely visible. Wessely (*Les plus anciens monuments* 2, 390) reads τὸν Χρ[ε]ῖστ[όν] σοιστ[ῆ]ναι with the note *l. συστ[ῆ]ναι*. While Wessely’s reading of σοιστ[ῆ]ναι is to be rejected because it is too long for the lacuna, his earlier reading in the line is correct as Χρεῖστ[όν] should be taken as Χριστ[όν]. I take τὸν Χρεῖστ[όν] as an asseverative accusative: “By Christ!” See E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, p. 44; A.N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar* (London 1897) §1746b. Cf. *SB* 18.13867.1: τὸν Σάραπιν (“By Sarapis”).

Χριστός is frequently spelled in the papyri as Χρηστός (W. Shandruk, “The Interchange of ι and η in Spelling χριστ- in Documentary Papyri,” *BASP* 47 [2010] 205-219). There are, however, a few examples of Χρεῖστός for Χριστός: *P.Oxy.* 3.407.5-6 (III/IV): Ἰησοῦ Χρεῖστοῦ; *SB* 26.16677.3-5 (V): κ(ύριος) Χρεῖστός; *SB* 20.15192.4 (V-VI): τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ Χρεῖστοῦ (cf. *P.Lips.* 1.43.13 [IV]: βιβλίων Χρεῖστ[ι]ανικῶν; *P.Lond.* 1.77.71-2 [ca. 610, p. 231]: κατὰ τῆς

τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως). Finally, although it might be expected that χριστός should be rendered using a *nomen sacrum*, in documentary texts, unlike literary manuscripts, it is rarely contracted (Blumell [n. 5] 51; Luijendijk [n. 5] 64-65).

15-16 <σὺ> οὐ[ν] σὺ ἄπελθε: In Naldini’s edition (*Il cristianesimo*, 186) he writes σὺᾱπελθε; however, the supralinear stroke is only over the *sigma* and the *upsilon*. Naldini may have extended the supralinear line because he felt that it was functioning to divide the letter and therefore acting as a paragraphus to indicate where a new part of the instructions began. Despite my best efforts I was unable to see the *nu* identified by Naldini (σὺᾱπελθε). The overstroke is not a paragraphus but indicates a deletion. The scribe confused σοι (l. 15) and σύ (sound the same), which explains the confusion about the postpositive οὐν, and so deleted the σύ in l. 16.

16-17 πρ[ὸς] τὸν ἄν[θρῶπ]ον κ[αὶ εἰς] χεῖρας: The *ed.pr.*, Ghedini (*Lettere cristiane*, 157), and Wessely (*Les plus anciens monuments* 2, 390) read πρ[ὸς] τ[ὸν] Ἄν[τι]||οχείας ἐπίσ[κ]οπον εἰς χεῖρας. However, the problem with this reading is that there are too many letters (10) forced into the lacunae in l. 17. This reading supposes that the line contained 24 letters; however, none of the fully intact lines exceeds 21 letters and most contain 18-20 letters. Naldini (*Il cristianesimo*, 186) transcribed this section as πρ[ὸς] τὸν ἄν[.] κ[. . . εἰς] χεῖρας. A high resolution digital image of this papyrus reveals that before the *kappa* in l. 17 there are traces of two and possibly three preceding letters after the lacuna. Immediately before the *kappa* the tops of two vertical strokes can be detected, which resemble the top half of a *nu*. Preceding these strokes is part of a slightly curved horizontal bar. These two letters are possibly an *omicron* followed by *nu*, which makes sense given the masc. acc. sing. article in the preceding line. Only a very small portion of the third letter is visible, not nearly enough to distinguish it from any other letters. While the reading ἄν[θρῶπ]ον presents itself as a distinct possibility and may be reinforced since it occurs in ll. 5-6, it is still conjectural. Another possibility, albeit a less likely one, is ἄν[α]||[γνώστ]ην, since there is some space at the end of l. 16 and it is a masculine noun.

18-19 [τὸ] γράμμα | [εἰρην]ικόν: This reading has not been previously suggested. In the *ed.pr.* the lacunae surrounding γράμμα are left blank. Ghedini (*Lettere cristiane*, 157) suggested [ταῦτα] γράμμα|[τα? . . .]κόν, Wessley (*Les plus anciens monuments* 2, 390) [καὶ τὰ] γράμμα|[ταῖο]κόνδ[ου], and Naldini (*Il cristianesimo*, 186) [τὰ] γράμμα|[τα? . . .]κόν. The problem with all of these readings is that they assume γράμμα must begin the plural γράμματα and are then at a loss as to how to incorporate the -κον that immediately follows. Wes-

sely's suggestion of Ἰο]κόνδ[ου is pure speculation. Furthermore, this name is unattested in the DDbDP. In his notes Wessely (*Les plus anciens monuments* 2, 391) also raises the possibility that it could be Σε]κόνδ[ου, noting that the name is frequent in Latin, but again this name is not attested in the DDbDP.

22-23 οὕτως γὰρ ἔχει καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή: ἐπιγραφή may be loosely translated here as “address.” Only a few letters preserved on papyrus contain a delivery address; this is typically signaled by the word σημασία (“address”): *P.Oxy.* 14.1678.27-30 (III) (= Ghedini, *Lettere cristiane*, 94-95 [no. 7]; = Naldini, *Il cristianesimo*, 93-96 [no. 9]); cf. *P.Laur.* 1. 20.14-15 (early III); *P.Oxy.* 14.1773.40-44 (III); *P.Oxy.* 34.2719.1-15 (III); *P.Hamb.* 4. 267.22 (ca. 336-348). See further N. Gonis, “Some More Elaborate Epistolary Addresses,” *ZPE* 136 (2001) 116-117; S.R. Llewelyn, “The εἰς (τὴν) οἰκίαν Formula and the Delivery of Letters to Third Persons or to Their Property,” *ZPE* 101 (1994) 71-78; R. Daniel, “Through Straying Streets: A Note on σημασία Texts,” *ZPE* 54 (1984) 85-86; *NewDocs* 7.29-43.

26 From the marginal note (ll. 27-28) it would seem that there are 0-2 lines of text missing after this line.

28 αὐτὰ οὖν ἀπόδος σω. . : In the *ed.pr.* it was thought that σω . . was probably the first part of σώζειν. This reading was subsequently followed by Ghedini (*Lettere cristiane*, 158). Wessely (*Les plus anciens monuments* 2, 390) read σωφῶ[ς] with a note *l. σοφῶς* and Naldini (*Il cristianesimo*, 187) read σωθ . [. More recently J. Rea has suggested that the reading could be ἀπόδος Σώτῳ[(*P.Oxy.* 36.2785, p. 84, n. 2). While the reading proposed by Rea is a better possibility, since names regularly follow the verb ἀπόδος, especially when it concerns delivery instructions, it is nevertheless conjectural. On the conjectural reading of the name “Sotas” see also Luijendijk (n. 5) 81, n. 1. Another possibility is that it could be σῶα (from the adjective σῶος), referring to αὐτά, and have the meaning “safe and sound.” Earlier in the letter at l. 13 the author expressed concern that it be delivered “safely” (ἀσφαλῶς). While the αὐτά may seem somewhat unusual here and could be read τ|αὐτα, a parallel can be found in *P.Herm.* 13.9 (IV): οὖν ἀ[πό]δος αὐτά.

29 ἄδελφε ἀσύγκριτε: This phrase is attested once in *CPR* 25.3.7-8 (IV). Similar phrases are: *P.Oxy.* 10.1298.1-2 (ca. 330): τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ ἀσυγκρίτῳ καὶ παραμυθίᾳ τῶν φίλων (= Ghedini, *Lettere cristiane*, no. 3; Naldini, *Il cristianesimo*, no. 4); *PSI* 7.783.A.10 (375[?]): πᾶτερ ἀσύγκριτε; *SB* 24.16204.14, 21 (IV/V): δέσποτα ἀσύγκριτε (= J. O'Callaghan, *Cartas*, no. 3; Naldini, *Il cristianesimo*, no. 92). This phrase is unattested in the TLG.

Bishop Theodotus of Laodicea ad Mare

In order to fully appreciate the significance of this letter it is necessary to consider Theodotus' episcopal career in some detail. Since no works by Theodotus have survived, his lengthy tenure as bishop of Laodicea has received little scholarly attention when compared with the other notable figures with whom he intermingled and who were at the epicenter of ecclesiastical politics in the first half of the fourth century.⁹ Nevertheless, there are enough scattered references to his episcopal career in various patristic sources to allow us to reconstruct its broad contours and identify his theological sympathies and leanings, which were clearly Arian throughout his career.

While the starting point of his episcopacy cannot be determined with precision, according to Eusebius of Caesarea it began sometime during the “Great Persecution” (ca. 303-310) after his predecessor, a certain Stephen, apostatized under duress.¹⁰ As a lifelong friend and theological ally of Theodotus, Eusebius of Caesarea dedicated his two major apologetic works to him, *Praeparatio evangelica* and *Demonstratio evangelica*, and Eusebius even praised Theodotus in his *Ecclesiastical History* by pointing out that he was a dedicated student of the scriptures and was renowned for his abilities to heal both the body and soul of those who visited him.¹¹

From the start of the Arian controversy ca. 317 Theodotus firmly aligned himself with Arius and sided with him against the Alexandrian patriarch Alexander.¹² Interestingly, the only other letter (besides PSI 4.311) from fourth-century Egypt that mentions Theodotus is a letter from Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia written ca. 318; in this letter Arius complains to the Nicomedian bishop that Alexander has unjustly driven him and his followers out of Alexandria and condemned certain eastern bishops, among them Theodotus of Laodicea, because they shared similar beliefs regarding Jesus.¹³ Sometime later, but before the Council of Nicaea in 325, in a passing remark Athanasius

⁹ In English the two most comprehensive summaries of Theodotus' life can be found in DelCogliano (n. 3) 256-261 and H. Wace and W. Piercy, *A Dictionary of Early Christian Biography* (Peabody, MA, 1999 [1911]) 980.

¹⁰ Eusebius, *Hist.eccl.* 7.32.2. Eusebius does not mention the date of Theodotus' ordination in his *Chronicon*.

¹¹ Eusebius, *Praep.ev.* 1.1.1; *Dem.ev.* intro.; *Hist.eccl.* 7.32.23.

¹² There is no need to rehearse the Arian controversy here. The two best treatments of the subject in the fourth century are M. Simonetti, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo* (Roma 1975), and R.P.C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy 318-381* (Edinburgh 1988).

¹³ The letter is preserved in Theodoret, *Hist.eccl.* 1.5.1-5. More specifically, Arius states that the eastern bishops were condemned, along with himself, because λέγουσιν ὅτι

alleges with disgust that certain eastern bishops, including Theodotus, had circulated writings in Egypt defending, and one might even say promoting, certain Arian tenets.¹⁴

A short time later Theodotus reappears at the Council of Antioch, held at either the end of 324 or the beginning of 325, that was convened to deal with internal problems plaguing the Antiochene church and to deal with the schism between Arius and Alexander.¹⁵ At this council, at which more than fifty bishops were in attendance, it was determined that they would side with Alexander against Arius. A creed was then drawn up supporting Alexander and condemning Arius and his theology. All the bishops in attendance signed with the exception of three recusants, one of whom was Theodotus.¹⁶ He and the two others were condemned for holding the same views as Arius and excommunicated until the Council of Nicaea (still six months away) when they would be given a chance to repent.¹⁷

προϋπάρχει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ ("they say that God had an existence prior to that of His son"). For the date of this letter see Hanson (n. 12) 6-7.

¹⁴ Athanasius, *Syn.* 17.1-7, describes how certain bishops defended themselves before Alexander and mentions that other bishops (Narcissus, Patrophilus, Maris, Paulinus, Theodotus, and Athanasius of Anazarba) circulated similar writings. He then relates specifically how Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius of Anazarba, and George of Laodicea (the successor of Theodotus) sent letters to various persons, some in Egypt, defending Arian tenets.

¹⁵ The primary reason for convening the council at Antioch was to deal with the disorder that had arisen as a result of the untimely death of the city's bishop (Philogonius) in December 324 and the rioting that had ensued with the appointment of his successor (Eustathius). On the context of this council see J. Nyman, "The Synod of Antioch (324-325) and the Council of Nicaea," *TU* 79 (1961) 483-489; Hanson (n. 12) 146-151.

¹⁶ The two others were Eusebius of Caesarea and Narcissus of Neronius.

¹⁷ The synodal letter of the council that contains its creed and the condemnation of Theodotus and the two other bishops exists only in a Syriac translation. For a Greek reconstruction of the Syriac see E. Schwartz, "Zur Geschichte des Athanasius," in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* (Göttingen 1905) 271-280. Regarding Theodotus and the two others the letter states: "In fact, from what they were asked and what they asked in turn, they clearly were proven to agree completely with Arius' party, and to hold opinions contrary to what was established by our synod. For this reason, that their hearts are so hardened, and that they have no regard for the holy synod which rejected and disapproved of their ideas in these matters, we all fellow-ministers in the synod have ruled not to practice fellowship with these men, not to consider them worthy of fellowship, since their faith is something other than that of the Catholic Church." Translation, slightly adapted, from J. Stevenson, *A New Eusebius: Documents Illustrating the History of the Church to AD 337*, rev.ed. W.H.C. Frend (London 1987) 336.

At the Council of Nicaea Theodotus, at least ostensibly, repented of his former convictions by signing the creed, though it would become clear that he was less than wholehearted in doing so.¹⁸ Some months after the conclusion of the council, Constantine directed a pointed letter to Theodotus ordering him not to mimic the actions of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea, who had been removed from their bishoprics and exiled for drawing up and circulating a document that undercut the Nicene Creed and provoked controversy, as it offered an interpretation contrary to the one agreed at the council.¹⁹ While the extent of Theodotus’ involvement with Eusebius and Theognis in this post-Nicene affair is not perfectly clear from the letter, and it may be argued that he played a less significant role since Constantine did not exile him, it is evident that he still harbored genuine Arian sympathies.²⁰

For the next few years we know nothing about Theodotus’ episcopal career; there is no mention of him in any source until the year 327. Here he reappears as a prominent attendee at another Antiochene council that was convened as a result of a bitter dispute between Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, and Eusebius of Caesarea over the meaning of the term *homoousios*.²¹ The outcome of this council was that Eustathius was deposed and sent into exile.²² What is most interesting is that Theodoret, who is one of the primary sources for this council, specifically points out that in the proceedings Theodotus’ Arian sympathies were again made manifest in his denunciation of Eustathius.²³ The

¹⁸ Both Eusebius of Caesarea and Narcissus of Neronius also signed, though in the case of Eusebius it was not wholehearted. Later Eusebius wrote a letter to his church in Caesarea (Socrates, *Hist.eccl.* 1.8.35-54; cf. Theodoret, *Hist.eccl.* 1.12.1-18) intimating that he felt pressured to sign the creed. For an interpretation of this letter see J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London 1972) 220-226.

¹⁹ This letter is preserved in Athanasius, *De decr.* 42 and Gelasius, *Hist.eccl.* 3 app. 2; cf. H.-G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke* 3.1, no. 28 (p. 63). See also Sozomen, *Hist.eccl.* 1.21.3-5.

²⁰ Theodotus’ apparent misgivings are clear near the end of the letter (Athanasius, *Syn.* 42.3) where Constantine admonishes him to manifest ἀχραντον πίστιν τῷ σωτῆρι θεῷ (“undefiled faith to the Savior God”).

²¹ In the pamphleteering war that preceded the council Eusebius charged Eustathius with Sabellianism and Eustathius charged Eusebius with polytheism. See Eusebius, *Vit.Const.* 3.59-62; Athanasius, *H.Ar.* 4.1; Socrates, *Hist.eccl.* 1.24.1-9; Sozomen, *Hist.eccl.* 2.19.1-7.

²² Eusebius, *Vit.Const.* 3.59.4; Athanasius, *H.Ar.* 4.1; Theodoret, *Hist.eccl.* 1.21.9; cf. T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA, 1996) 227-228.

²³ Theodoret, *Hist.eccl.* 1.21.4. Theodoret specifically reports that Theodotus (and a few others) had still “imbibed the Arian sentiments” (τὴν λώβην εισέδεξαντο τὴν Ἀρείου).

following year Theodotus attended, and possibly presided over,²⁴ yet another council at Antioch as the episcopal successors of the deposed Eustathius had died in rapid succession resulting in severe unrest in the city.²⁵

After this third council at Antioch we hear of Theodotus one last time in his capacity as bishop. Sometime ca. 335 it is reported that he reprimanded the young Apollinarius, who would later become bishop of Laodicea, because he attended lectures of the sophist Epiphanius and failed to leave when Epiphanius recited a hymn to Dionysus.²⁶ After this episode Theodotus effectively disappears from the sources and all we know of him is that he was succeeded by George, a native of Alexandria and enemy of Athanasius. Exactly when Theodotus was replaced by George (presumably because he had died) cannot be determined precisely. Nevertheless, George's presence as bishop of Laodicea at the Dedication Council in Antioch in 341 provides a *terminus ante quem* for the end of Theodotus' episcopacy.²⁷ In light of a later comment by Theodoret, where he identifies Theodotus among the leading Arians in the East and laments that he and the other Arians were aided in their heresy by the "indifference of Constantius,"²⁸ it should not only be supposed that he outlived Constantine but that he retained his Arian sympathies throughout the entirety of his episcopal career.

Arianism at Oxyrhynchus during the Episcopate of Theodotus

In light of the foregoing sketch of Theodotus' ecclesiastical career the implications of *PSI* 4.311 begin to become clearer. If we now turn and look at the bishopric of Oxyrhynchus in the wake of the Arian controversy to consider the

²⁴ In a letter written by Constantine to the congregants of this council Theodotus is the first bishop addressed (Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.62.1), which has been taken as evidence that he may have been the presiding bishop. See A. Cameron and S.G. Hall, *Life of Constantine* (Oxford 1999) 306.

²⁵ It is reported that Paulinus died within six months of his ordination and Eulalius within a year (Eusebius, *Marc.* 1.4.2; Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.15; Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 1.22.1). Part of the unrest in Antioch was caused by the supporters of the exiled Eustathius who were clamoring for his reinstatement. Eusebius of Caesarea was initially elected as bishop but promptly declined the appointment citing that it was contrary to canon law, at which point a priest from Caesarea named Euphronius who had been put forward by Constantine was confirmed by the council (Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.60.3).

²⁶ Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 6.25; cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 2.46.1-12.

²⁷ Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 3.5.10.

²⁸ Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 5.7.1: Κωνσταντίνου ἡ εὐκολία. On the Arian leanings of Constantius II see R. Klein, *Constantius II. und die christliche Kirche* (Darmstadt 1977) 16-67.

possible context of this letter it becomes evident that for the first 30 or 40 years after Nicaea Oxyrhynchus was also troubled by this controversy.²⁹ From ca. 325 until 347 the bishop of Oxyrhynchus was a man by the name of Pelagius.³⁰ In Athanasius’ *Festal Letter* of 347 (no. 19), written shortly after the return of his second exile in 346, he deposed Pelagius and appointed another bishop by the name of Theodorus.³¹ While the specific reasons for the removal of Pelagius are not altogether clear, the question that naturally arises is whether it had something to do with Pelagius’ ecclesiastical sympathies. Elsewhere Athanasius reveals that he had Melitian and quite possibly Arian ties,³² and so it seems probable that this may have been a decisive factor for his removal in 347.³³ Pelagius’ episcopal career largely overlapped with that of Theodotus. If the sender

²⁹ At this time Oxyrhynchus was anything but the bastion of “orthodoxy” it was purported to have become by the end of the century, when the anonymous author of the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* reports that the bishop of the city was orthodox and not a single “heretic” could be found within the city’s walls (*Hist.mon.* 5.4): ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδείς ἦν οἰκίητωρ αἰρετικός οὐδὲ ἔθνικός ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὁμοῦ οἱ πολῖται πιστοὶ καὶ κατηχοῦμενοι, ὥς δύνασθαι δοῦναι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ εἰρήνην τῷ λαῷ (“Moreover, not one of the city’s inhabitants is a heretic or pagan. But all citizens together are believers and catechumens so that the bishop is able to bless the people publicly in the street”). Greek text taken from A. Festugière, *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (Bruxelles 1971 [1964]) 42. This account is clearly tendentious and idealized; see R.S. Bagnall, “Combat ou vide: christianisme et paganisme dans l’Égypte romaine tardive,” *Ktèma* 13 (1988) 293.

³⁰ A. Papaconstantinou, “Sur les évêques byzantins d’Oxyrhynchus,” *ZPE* 111 (1996) 172-173; K.A. Worp, “A Checklist of Byzantine Bishops,” *ZPE* 100 (1994) 303.

³¹ Athanasius, *Ep.fest.* 19.10. On Athanasius’ return from exile see Socrates, *Hist.eccl.* 2.22.1-4. On the chronology of his festal letters see Barnes (n. 6) 183-191 (Appendix 1: Festal Letters).

³² Athanasius, *Apol.sec.* 71.6; 78.7. As Melitians and Arians were virtually synonymous for Athanasius, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate the members of the two groups in his writings (Athanasius, *Ep.Aeg.Lib.* 22; *H.Ar.* 31, 78; cf. Sozomen, *Hist.eccl.* 2.21; Theodoret, *Hist.eccl.* 1.9.14). See also Choat (n. 3) 128-129.

³³ This interpretation may be further supported by the fact that when Athanasius returned to Egypt in 346 he immediately commenced with some “house cleaning” and removed bishops whose orthodoxy and theological connections were suspect (Athanasius, *Ep.fest.* 19.10). Furthermore, some of those who were selected as bishops by Athanasius had formerly had such connections but had recently, as the letter states, been “reconciled to the church.” This letter only survives in a Syriac translation. See W. Cureton, *The Festal Letters of Athanasius, Discovered in an Ancient Syriac Version* (Piscataway, NJ, 2003 [1848]) liv-lv; H.-G. Opitz, “Das syrische Corpus Athanasianum,” *ZNW* 33 (1934) 18-31.

of PSI 4.311 were the bishop of Oxyrhynchus,³⁴ it may be no coincidence that a bishop whose ecclesiastical commitments were suspect according to Athanasius was corresponding with a prominent Arian supporter. Furthermore, Pelagius' successor Theodorus, though appointed by Athanasius, eventually sided with the Arians during his episcopacy; it is even reported that he led a group of Arian clergy to sack a catholic church in Oxyrhynchus because its clergy had consecrated a rival bishop by the name of Heraclides.³⁵

³⁴ See n. 4.

³⁵ Theodorus was ordained bishop in 347 by Athanasius, presumably because he was deemed "orthodox," but when Athanasius was removed from office and began his third exile in 356, being replaced by George of Cappadocia (a noted Arian), it seems that Theodorus switched allegiance and apparently became an Arian himself. He was re-ordained by George of Cappadocia ca. 360. At this time a rival "orthodox" bishop named Heraclides was installed by an orthodox faction in Oxyrhynchus. As a result, Theodorus led a band of Arian clergy to destroy the church of Heraclides. See *Libellus Marcell. et Faustini*, xxvi in PL 13.101A-B (CSEL 35/1, p. 33, 35-36): *Tunc egregius iste bis episcopus, iam propriis viribus nititur, et mittit turbam clericorum ad ecclesiam beati Heraclidae catholici episcopi, eamque evertit destruens undique parietes: ita ut ipsum altare Dei securibus dissiparet, cum horrore totius civitatis et gemitu, quod illa ecclesia everteretur, ...* ("Then that infamous twice ordained bishop [Theodorus], relying now on his own men sent a multitude of clerics to the church of the blessed catholic bishop Heraclides, and overthrowing it, destroying the walls on all sides so that he destroyed the altar of God with axes, with horror all of the city [Oxyrhynchus] groaned, because that church was destroyed, ...").

The *fasti* of the bishops of Oxyrhynchus are further complicated at this time, since there is evidence for at least two other (rival?) bishops during the episcopate of Theodorus. In *P.Oxy.* 22.2344, a petition dated to ca. 351/2 and sent to the *strategus* of Oxyrhynchus, the sender was a person who identifies himself as "Dionysius, bishop of the Catholic Church of this city [Oxyrhynchus]" (ll. 1-2, παρὰ Διον[υσίου] ἐπισκόπου καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς αὐ[τῆς] πόλεως). The question that arises is whether Theodorus was briefly replaced by Dionysius or whether there were two rival bishops in the city. See N. Gonis, "Dionysius, Bishop of Oxyrhynchus," *JJP* 36 (2006) 63-65. Lastly, there is also evidence for another bishop in Oxyrhynchus named Apollonius sometime around ca. 359. Epiphanius (*Pan.* 73.26.4) reports that a Melitian bishop by the name of Apollonius sided with the Arians at the council of Seleucia in 359 and signed as "bishop of Oxyrhynchus" (Ἀπολλώνιος ἐπίσκοπος Ὀξυρύγχου). According to Papaconstantinou ([n. 30] 173) there is reason to believe that Theodorus remained bishop of Oxyrhynchus until 383/4.

PSI 4.311 and “Letters of Peace”

Turning now to the letter itself, there is one significant new reading that lends considerable weight to the present hypothesis. This letter concerns instructions for the delivery of some other letter, no longer extant, to be transported to Theodotus in Laodicea. In ll. 18-19, where the letter to be delivered to Theodotus is mentioned, it reads as follows: δ[. . .] αὐτῷ [. . .] γράμμα | [.] κον δ[ιὰ τ]οῦτον ἴνα. In previous editions of the letter it was always supposed that the correct reading was the plural τὰ γράμματα; however, the problem with this reading is that -κον (l. 19) **immediately following the lacuna cannot be accounted for**. A better reading that fits the lacunae and enables the whole line to be reconstructed is to take [. . .] γράμμα in l. 18 not as a plural (τὰ) γράμμα | [τα] but as a singular (τὸ) γράμμα and then take -κον following the lacuna beginning in l. 19 ([.] κον) as a singular ending for an adjective modifying τὸ γράμμα. The most probable reading is then τὸ γράμμα εἰρηνικόν for these two lines; thus the sender of *PSI 4.311* was sending a so-called “letter of peace” to Theodotus. This reading seems even more secure when one enlarges a digital image of the papyrus: one detects what appears to be faint traces of an *iota* just to the right of the lacuna so that the transcription would be [εἰρην]ικόν.

While this emendation is a relatively minor one, it has significant implications for elucidating the latent church historical context behind *PSI 4.311*. A little over a century after this letter was written, the Council of Chalcedon (451) would officially mandate that a “letter of peace” (ἐπιστολή εἰρηνική/*epistola pacifica*), a technical designation for a specific kind of travel letter used within ecclesiastical channels, was to be understood as a letter provided to a member of the laity by an ecclesiastical authority so that they might be able to attain support, hospitality, or even communion on their travels as it vouched for their upstanding character in the church.³⁶ While such letters, even one hundred years earlier when *PSI 4.311* was written, were primarily

³⁶ Canon Eleven of Chalcedon reads: πάντας τοὺς πένητας καὶ δεομένους ἐπικουρίας μετὰ δοκιμασίας ἐπιστολίοις, ἧγουν εἰρηνικοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μόνοις ὁδεύειν ὠρίσαμεν καὶ μὴ συστατικοῖς, διὰ τὸ τὰς συστατικὰς ἐπιστολάς προσήκειν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὑπολήψει μόνοις παρέχεσθαι προσώποις (“We have decided that all the poor and those in need of assistance, after examination, are to travel only with ordinary letters, or ecclesiastical certificates of peace, and not with systatic letters, since systatic letters should only be given to persons who are of standing”). Translation taken from R. Price and M. Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon: Translated with Notes* (Liverpool 2005) 3.98. Greek text taken from P. Joannou, *Les canons des conciles œcuméniques, I^{re} - IX^e s.* (Grottaferrata [Rome] 1962) 78-79; cf. *ACO 2.1.2*, p. 160. On the differentiation between the two kinds of letters in the time of Chalcedon see T. Teeter, “Letters of Recommendation or Letters of Peace?” *APF Beiheft* 3 (1997) 958.

used as travel documents,³⁷ they implied that the sender and addressee, both of whom were typically bishops,³⁸ shared a common bond and as such implicitly functioned to create, maintain, and reinforce theological and ecclesiastical ties between likeminded church leaders. Both Basil of Caesarea and Epiphanius of Salamis periodically use the phrase τὸ γράμμα εἰρηνικόν within the context of strengthening theological bonds with a fellow bishop.³⁹ Likewise, the so-called *Apostolic Canons* make it clear that such letters were sent between bishops who regarded each other as orthodox.⁴⁰ On this front the later evidence of Leo I of

³⁷ References to “letters of peace” first appear in the canons of the Council of Elvira (306); Canon Eighty-One states: *ne feminae suo potius absque maritorum nominibus laicis scribere audeant, quae fideles sunt, vel litteras alicuius pacificas ad suum solum nomen scriptas accipiant* (“Let no women who are among the faithful dare to write to laity on their own without their husband’s signatures nor accept anyone’s letters of peace addressed only to themselves”). Latin text taken from K. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d’après les documents originaux*, trans. H. Leclercq (Paris 1907) 1.263. Canon Seven of the Council of Antioch (341) stipulates: μηδένα ἄνευ εἰρηνικῶν δέχεσθαι τῶν ξένων (“receive no stranger without [letters of] peace”). Greek text taken from P. Joannou, *Les canons des synodes particuliers*, IV^e - IX^e s. (Grottaferrata [Rome] 1962) 110.

³⁸ Canon Eight of the Council of Antioch (341) makes it clear that letters of peace should not be issued by someone less than a country-bishop: μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐν ταῖς χώραις κανονικὰς ἐπιστολάς διδόναι, ἢ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς γείτονας ἐπισκόπους ἐπιστολάς ἐκπέμπειν. τοὺς δὲ ἀνεπιλήπτους χωρεπισκόπους διδόναι εἰρηνικάς (“Country-presbyters cannot give canonical letters [letters of peace], for only bishops send out such letters to neighboring regions. Country-bishops above reproach can give [letters of] peace”). Greek text taken from Joannou (n. 37) 110. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 8.1162 (IV) where “Leon the presbyter” issues such a letter (l. 1, Λέων πρεσβύτερος ...).

³⁹ In *Ep.* 258.1 Basil thanks Epiphanius of Salamis for sending a “letter of peace” when some were doubting his orthodoxy, since it cheered him up and reinforced Epiphanius’ theological confidence in him at a time of difficulty (cf. Basil, *Ep.* 203.4). All the same, while letters of peace necessarily presupposed that some kind of common bond was shared between corresponding bishops, episcopal alliances in the fourth century could be a complex combination of theology, loyalty, common enemies, previous affronts, and the like. Returning to Basil *Ep.* 258, Basil notes that while many bishops are united on important matters (i.e. trinitarian doctrine) they are at odds on lesser points (i.e. episcopal succession in Antioch). Therefore, the sending of a letter of peace need not imply total unity between bishops in all matters.

⁴⁰ The *Apostolic Canons* form the final Chapter of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and were probably composed sometime in the middle of the fourth century. Canon Thirty-Three states that all clergy carrying such letters were to be tested for their orthodoxy. The implication here is that one would not provide someone with a letter of peace so that they could draw upon the hospitality of another congregation unless they were certain that they were regarded as orthodox by the receiving bishop.

Rome (bp. 440-461) is pertinent: he specifically employed “letters of peace” (*epistolae pacificae*) as a way of approving of the orthodoxy of another bishop.⁴¹

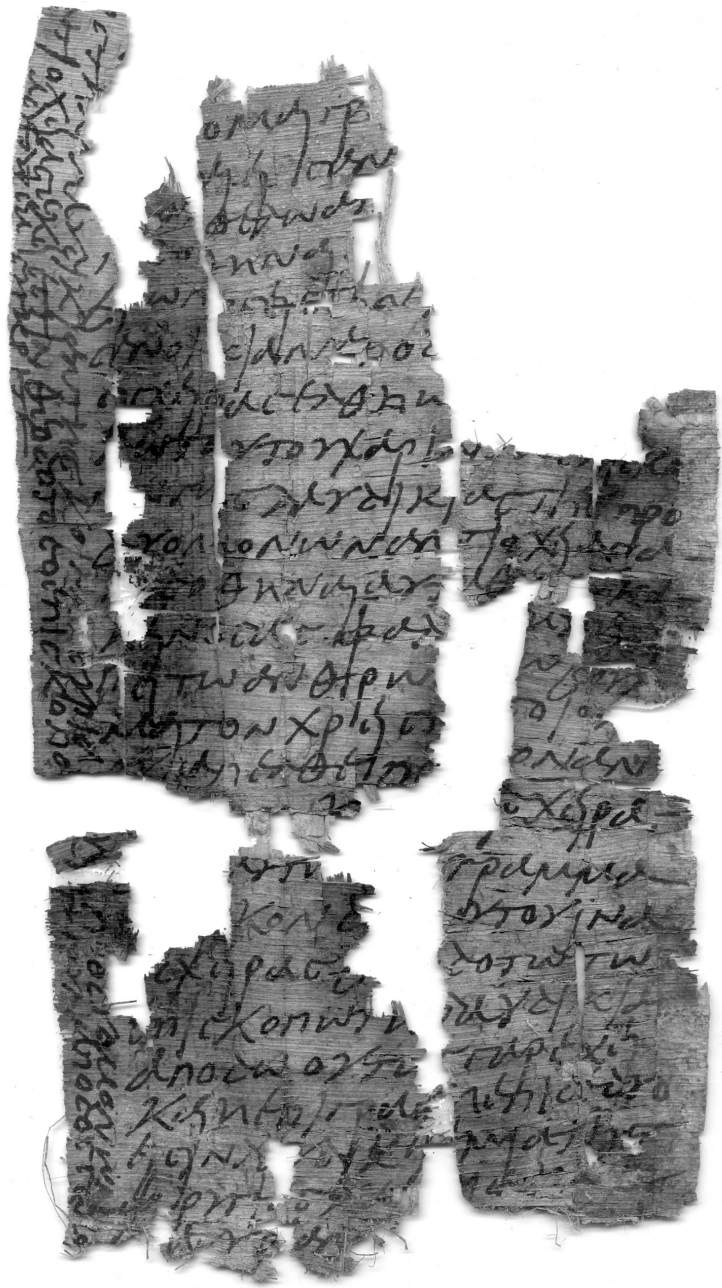
There is one additional reference that bears heavily on PSI 4.311, since it is contemporaneous and emanates from Egypt. In a letter written to Athanasius shortly before the Council of Tyre (ca. 334-335),⁴² Arsenius of Hypselis, who had been used as a pawn by the Melitians in their struggle against Athanasius,⁴³ wrote to Athanasius to ask for pardon and request communion with the Catholic Church: “Being earnestly desirous of peace and union with the Catholic Church, over which by the grace of God you [Athanasius] preside, and wishing to submit ourselves to the Canon of the Church, according to the ancient rule, we write unto you, beloved Papa, . . .”⁴⁴ As a sign of his sincerity, Arsenius promised Athanasius that he would now adhere to the Nicene faith, pledged that he would disassociate himself from both the Melitians and Arians, would no longer hold communion with them, and at the request of Athanasius would not “send to them or receive from them letters of peace” (μήτε γράμματα εἰρηνικὰ ἀποστέλλειν μήτε δέξασθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν). From this reference it is clear that at the same time and in roughly the same region where PSI 4.311 was written, the act of sending and receiving a “letter of peace” signified loyalty and unity between two bishops and often presupposed some kind of theological bond. The new reading in PSI 4.311 is thus supported by external evidence and suggests that someone at Oxyrhynchus, perhaps a bishop or at the very least a prominent ecclesiastical figure, shared a close bond with Theodotus, a noted Arian supporter throughout the entirety of his episcopal career. Therefore, it seems likely that there is an Arian subtext to the letter.

⁴¹ Leo I, *Ep.* 111.1 (PL 54, 1021). In this letter Leo wrote to the Emperor Marcian (ca. 450-457) and reports that he abstained from sending any “letters of peace” (... *ad eum pacis epistolis abstinere* ...) to a newly consecrated bishop since he had grave doubts about his orthodoxy in the Catholic Faith.

⁴² Cited in full in Athanasius, *Apol. sec.* 69. Hypselis was a city located in Upper Egypt on the western side of the Nile Valley about 10 km south of Lycopolis. In the fourth century it was a part of the administrative division of the Thebaid. See H. Verreth, *A Survey of the Toponyms of Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Cologne/Leuven 2008) 207; Timm 5.2416-2424.

⁴³ In ca. 330 when Arsenius fled from the confinement imposed on him by Plusianus, the Catholic Bishop of Lycopolis, the Melitians accused Athanasius of having murdered him. Athanasius was eventually able to locate Arsenius and defend himself against the charge of murder, first before Dalmatius, the half-brother of Constantine, and then before the council of Tyre in 335 (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.27-29; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 2.23-25).

⁴⁴ Athanasius, *Apol. sec.* 69.2: καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀσπαζόμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ ἔνωσιν πρὸς τὴν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἥς σὺ κατὰ χάριν θεοῦ προϊστάσαι, προηρημένοι τε τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τύπον ὑποτάσσεσθαι, γράφομέν σοι, ἀγαπητὲ πάπα, ...



Freight Charges in SB 18.13948

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Abstract

Corrections to the readings in SB 18.13948, an undertaking to transport a certain amount of wheat to Alexandria.

In SB 18.13948 (= P.Mich. inv. 3781; Memphite nome, 407 CE), an undertaking to transport a certain amount of wheat to Alexandria addressed by a *naukleros* to a *stationarius*, the *naukleros* writes that he has received:

(5) --- σίτου νέου καλλίστου καὶ καθαρωτ[ά]του ἐκ[τὸς π]άσης ἐτίας (l. αἰτίας) καθε[σ]τη-

(6) [κότος μέτρῳ ca.? ἀ]παραβρόχου σῶου ἀκακουργητον (l. ἀκακουργήτου) ἀρτάβας¹ χιλίας ἑξακοσίας δεκαοκτώ,

(7) [(γίν.) Αχ]ῆ μόνα, καὶ τὴν τούτων εἰσκοστήν (l. εἰκοστήν) ἀρτάβας {ἀρτάβας} εὐβδοήκοντα (l. ὀγδοήκοντα) μίαν.

The ship's cargo itself amounts to 1,618 art. + (for εἰκοστή = 5% surcharge) 81 art. = 1,699 art. of wheat. Furthermore, the *naukleros* declares that:

(11) ----- ἔσχον

(12) δὲ ἐγὼ ὁ ν[αύ]κ[λη]ρος καὶ [τὰς ἐ]κατοστὰς τῶν ἀρταβῶν δέκα κα<ι> <τὸ ναῦλον> ἀρτάβας δέκα καὶ τὸ

(13) κοῦ[μ]ολον (l. κούμουλον) καὶ τὸ [σακκ]οφορικὸν [ἐκ πλήρου]ς καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆς (l. ἐπερωτηθεῖς) ὡμολόγησ[α].

It is striking that in the latter clause an important element, <τὸ ναῦλον> (l. 12), results from an editorial restoration. For this supplement the editor adduced the document's subscription, read as:

(23) ἔ[σ]χον δὲ ἐγὼ [ὁ ναύκληρος περὶ τ]ούτων [τὰς ἑκατοστὰς] ἀρτ[αβῶν δέκα καὶ τὸ]

(24) [ναῦλ]ον ἀρτάβ[ας δέκα καὶ τὸ [κού]μολον (l. κούμουλον) καὶ τὸ σακκοφορικ[ὸν ἐκ πλήρους].

¹ This word was omitted in the SB text and, consequently, in the DDBDP version.

The editor translates this passage as “I, the shipper, have received concerning this load the hundredth of ten artabas and the freight, i.e. ten artabas, and the supplementary charges and the portorage-tax in full.”

At first sight this interpretation seems correct, but some problems remain:

- a. the Greek expression [τὰς ἑκατοστὰς] ἀρτ[αβῶν δέκα suggests that one is dealing with “the hundredth parts of ten artabs,” that is the n times 1/10th part of one artaba, while this amount occurs nowhere else in this text;
- b. for expressing the amount of the transportation charge (= ναῦλον) itself one might expect after τὸ [ναῦλ]ον a genitive rather than an accusative; and
- c. one does not expect such a transportation charge to have been expressed in terms of artabas of wheat. Rather, an indication of a certain amount of money may be expected;² often enough, however, the existing documentation presents no further qualification of the ναῦλον (or plur.: ναῦλα) at all.

In fact, the Greek of the subscription in its present form may be rendered as “and I, the *nauklêros*, have received (ἔσχον δὲ ἐγὼ ὁ ναύκληρος) concerning this load (περὶ τούτων) the 1%-surcharge consisting of ten artabas (τὰς ἑκατοστὰς ἀρταβῶν δέκα) and also the *naulon*, ten artabas (καὶ τὸ ναῦλον, ἀρτάβας δέκα), and the *cumulum* (καὶ τὸ κούμολον) and the portorage-tax (καὶ τὸ σακκοφορικὸν) in full (ἐκ πλήρους).” This rendering, however, creates the problem that a 1% surcharge of 1618 art. = ca. 16 art.; nowhere in the text, however, is this amount of 16 art. mentioned (see the editor’s note).³ How to solve this problem?

In similar documents concerning transportation by ship one often finds surcharges of 1% (ἑκατοστή), 2% (πεντηκοστή), 5% (the εἰκοστή), and even of 10% (δεκάτη); the last is often expressed in terms of ἑκατοσταὶ δέκα.⁴ In the present text I assume that in l. 12 after ἐ]κατοστάς the element τῶν ἀρταβῶν was written too early and that it should be moved, i.e. the scribe should have written ἑκατοστὰς δέκα τῶν ἀρταβῶν, “the ten *hekatostai* (= 10% surcharge) of the (1618) artabas.” In any case, the following ἀρτάβας δέκα cannot be identified with the ἑκατοστὰς δέκα τῶν ἀρταβῶν, because in the latter case the amount should have been in fact 10% of 1618 = 162 (art.).

² Cf. *P.Oxy.* 75.5066 (460/1?): 3 *solidi* for transportation of 369 art. > 1 *sol.* for 123 art.

³ See *ZPE* 62 (1986) 143, note to l. 12.

⁴ See, e.g., *CPR* 17A.7.9; *P.Cair.Isid.* 47.4, 18, 25; *P.Col.* 8.236.4. For these surcharges and their purpose in general, see *P.Cair.Isid.* 47, introd., and A.J.M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht* (Zutphen 1978) 17-18. In not a few cases a precise specification of the ἑκατοσταὶ seems to have been omitted rather carelessly; cf. (e.g.) *P.Sakaon* 88, in which the amount for barley in ll. 3 and 5, κριθῆς σὺν (ἑκατοσταῖς) (ἀρτάβας) γ γ', may represent a (main) sum of 3 artabas + 1/3 art. for a surcharge of <10>%.

Furthermore, I venture to think that, after writing in l. 12 first the words ἀρταβῶν δέκα slightly out-of-place, the *naukleros* then unnecessarily repeated himself in the following ἀρτάβας δέκα;⁵ the second syllable κα and the following two words ἀρτάβας δέκα should be discarded.

In sum, instead of the editor's text I propose to read:

(12) --- [τὰς ἐ]κατοστὰς τῶν ἀρταβῶν δέκα{κα ἀρτάβας δέκα} καὶ τὸ

(13) κού[μ]ολον (l. κούμουλον) καὶ τὸ [σακκ]οφορικὸν [ἐκ πλήρου]ς καὶ ἐπερωτηθ<ε>ις ὡμολόγησ[α]

This brings us to the *naukleros* stating that “and I, the *naukleros*, have received the ten *hekatostai* (= 10% surcharge) of the artabas.” The restoration in l. 12 of *naulon* is unwarranted, while the text of ll. 23-24 should be changed from:

(23) ξ[σ]χον δὲ ἐγὼ [ὁ ναύκληρος περὶ τ]ούτων [τὰ]ς ἑκατοστὰς[ς]
ἀρτ[αβῶν δέκα καὶ τὸ]

(24) [ναῦλ]ον ἀρτάβ[ας δέκα καὶ τὸ κού]μολον⁶

to:

(23) ξ[σ]χον δὲ ἐγὼ [ὁ ναύκληρος περὶ τ]ούτων [τὰ]ς ἑκατοστὰς[ς]
ἀρτ[αβῶν δέκα καὶ τὸ]

(24) [ναῦλ]ον ἀρτάβ[ῶν *n* καὶ τὸ κού]μολον

In this interpretation, the *naulon* is only stated to be “the transportation charge of [1618 or 1699?] artabas” without further specification of what was really paid. It must be admitted that two problems remain:

1. one would expect in l. 23 a wording τὰς ἑκατοστὰς τῶν ἀρταβῶν; cf. l. 12. The photo shows, however, that the first editor's reading of this line is extremely uncertain; under the circumstances, I have no more convincing reading of my own to suggest.

2. one might expect in the subscription another mention of the εἰκοστή already mentioned in l. 7. Maybe, however, this 5 % surcharge is incorporated in the 10% surcharge mentioned in ll. 12 and 23.

⁵ An extended form of dittography; cf. the dittography in l. 7, ἀρτάβας {ἀρτάβας} and in l. 12 the form δέκακα, interpreted by the first editor as standing for δέκα κα<ι>, but taken by me as δέκα {κα}.

⁶ One should note that in the *DDBDP* version of this papyrus text a superfluous [-bracket has been inserted before κού]μολον.

Appendix: Shipping Charges in Transportation Contracts, Receipts, etc.

In twenty transportation contracts from the 4th and 5th century CE one finds the following combinations of shipping charges:

Ἀπογόμεωσις, δηνάριον: *CPR* 17A.7.31-33 (Hermop., 317); for ἀπογόμεωσις, cf. also below sub ναῦλα, ἀπογόμεωσις

Δεκατή (incl.), κούμουλα, δηνάριον: *CPR* 17A.7.8-12 (Hermop., 317; (ἐκατοσταί) δέκα = δεκάτη)

Δεκάτη (incl.), εικοσταί, ναῦλα, δηνάριον: *P.Cair.Isid.* 47.4-8, 18-22, 24-27 (Arsin., 309); *P.Col.* 8.236.4-5 (Arsin., 313; (ἐκατοσταί) δέκα = δεκάτη], w/o εικοσταί and ναῦλα)

Εικοσταί (incl.), ναῦλα, δηνάριον: *P.Cair.Isid.* 47.33-35 (Arsin., 309)

Ἐκατοσταί, ναῦλα (?): *P.Rain.Cent.* 83.11-12 (Hermop., 311)

Κούμουλον, ναῦλα, δεκάτη (?), σακκοφορικόν: *P.Oxy.* 62.4346.8-9 (Oxy., 380)

Κούμουλον, ναῦλον, σακκοφορικόν: *P.Neph.* 43.5-8 (? , early IV); *P.Oxy.* 48.3395.10-13 (Oxy., 371; κούμουλα, ναῦλα)

Κούμουλα, δηνάριον, ναῦλα, σακκοφορικόν: *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 14.7-8 (Hermop., 343);⁷ *SB* 24.16270.6-7 (Oxy. 341; w/o ναῦλα); *SB* 14.12217.10 (Hermop., IV; w/o ναῦλα, σακκοφορικόν)

Ναῦλα, ἀπογόμεωσις: *P.Ant.* 2.108 (Antinoop., IV)

Ναῦλα, κούμουλα, σακκοφορικοὶ *misthoi*: *P.Flor.* 1.75.21-22 (Hermop., 380), *P.Stras.* 7.654.18-20 (Hermop., 425-450); *P.Oxy.* 49.3481.9-11 (Oxy., 442; σακκοφορικόν)

Ναῦλα, σακκοφορικόν: *P.Bodl.* I 25.7-8 (Arsin., 338); *P.Neph.* 27.5-7 (Terythis, 336/7; σακκοφορικά); *SB* 14.11548.9-10 (Hermop., 343); *CPR* 8.34 (Hermop., IV), 8.35.8-11 (Hermop., IV)

[Ναῦλο]ν or [κούμουλο]ν, δηνάριον, σακκοφορικόν: *SB* 12.11036.7 (Oxy., IV)⁸

⁷ In l. 6, I read on the photo at the start [Personal name]. μέν, Παῶσιν, etc. (ed.princ.:] . . εν, . ῶσιν), in l. 7 I propose to restore [ἐκ πλήρους καὶ τά.

⁸ The first editor restored in l. 7 [ἀπέσχον δὲ καὶ τὸ ναῦλο]ν, but one could also restore [καὶ τούτων τὸ κούμουλο]ν (cf. *SB* 24.16270.6-7).

Notes on Papyri

O.Mon.Epiph. 615.24-25

Le morceau de calcaire découvert au topos d'Épiphané porte une liste de sentences de Ménandre classées alphabétiquement.¹ Plusieurs maximes sont notées pour les lettres α à ε, mais une seulement pour les lettres suivantes. Le texte a été édité une première fois dans la publication des fouilles (*O.Mon.Epiph.* 615 = LDAB 2454); il a été repris ensuite par S. Jäkel, qui a identifié l'essentiel des sentences.² L'ouvrage récent de C. Pernigotti suit l'édition et l'interprétation de S. Jäkel.³

La fin du document est très abîmée: le mauvais état du support rend inutilisable la photographie publiée pour les l. 24 et 25.⁴ Après la sentence qui illustre la lettre π, on lit une séquence qui commence par un ρ. Elle a été lue dans l'*editio princeps* ϱϱη [.] . | [- - -] τὰ γράμματα . . . τ[et elle n'a pas été identifiée. S. Jäkel a proposé d'y voir la sentence 689, suivie du début d'une autre sentence; il a édité le passage ainsi: Ῥϱη [ῥσιν ἡμῶν ὁ βίος ὥσπερ] | [ὁ ζυγός.] Τὰ γράμματα . . . τ[...

Plusieurs objections peuvent cependant être émises. Tout d'abord, aucune sentence ne débute par la séquence τὰ γράμματα. Ensuite, l'ostracon porterait deux sentences consécutives qui commencent respectivement par ρ et τ, ce qui signifierait que la lettre σ a été oubliée. Il semble donc préférable d'estimer que τὰ γράμματα termine la sentence qui commence par la lettre ρ, comme le pensait le premier éditeur. On peut dès lors proposer d'y reconnaître la sentence non métrique *983 (Pernigotti): Ῥῶπαλον γὰρ οὐδὲν τοῖς μαθοῦσι τὰ γράμματα, attestée dans le recueil bilingue grec-copte (en grec seulement), *P.Rain.Unterricht Kopt.* 269 (LDAB 2452), fol. VIII b, 200-201, sous la forme ϱοπαλος δε ουδε εις τῳ[ις] | μαθουσι τα γραμματα.

¹ On trouve également une citation biblique à la l. 1 (Pr 1, 7), cf. S. Bucking, "Christian Educational Texts from Egypt: A Preliminary Inventory," *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997) 134. De même, dans l'ostracon 749 de la publication des fouilles de la tombe thébaine 29, une citation de Mt 25, 13 et une invocation à la Trinité sont mêlées à des sentences de Ménandre (A. Boud'hors et Ch. Heurtel, *Les ostraca coptes de la TT 29. Autour du moine Frangé* [Bruxelles 2010]).

² S. Jäkel, *Mendandri sententiae* (Leipzig 1964) pap. XIII.

³ C. Pernigotti, *Menandri sententiae* (Florence 2008).

⁴ R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) n° 319. Il ne m'a pas été possible d'obtenir une image couleur de l'ostracon.

Il est difficile d'identifier les sentences suivantes. À titre d'hypothèse, on pourrait proposer pour les lettres σ et φ de reconnaître: l. 25-26, sent. 711: Σαυτ[ὸν φύλαττε] | [τοῖς τρόποις ἐλεύθερ]ον; l. 28-29, sent. 819: Φ]ῶς ἐστι τ[ῷ νῶ πρὸς] | [θεὸν βλέπειν αἰί].

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P.Mich. inv. 3521

The *editio princeps* of *P.Mich. inv. 3521*, a Coptic manuscript of the Gospel of John, was published by Elinor Husselman in 1962.⁵ The International Greek New Testament Project (IGNTP) is currently preparing a new edition of this text (directed by Christian Askeland), which will soon be published online.⁶ As part of this collaborative effort, four transcriptional errors have been detected, two of which affect Husselman's reconstruction of the text. Until now these have gone unnoticed. As published, they read:

Folio 4, recto, line 4

ΜΠΖΔΥ ΝΖΔΗ ΝΔΥΚΡΕΜ-

Folio 5, recto, line 5

ΝΙΟΥΔΕΙ Ν [ΔΥΜΙΩΙ ΜΝ]

Folio 7, verso, line 8

ΠΙΣΤ[ΕΥΕ ΕΡΔ]ϣ ΕΝ ΠΕ-

Folio 20, recto, line 11⁷

[ΕΣΔΥ Κ]ΔΤΑ ΝΕΥΡΕΝ

In the first case, Husselman does not record the epsilon for ΜΠΖΔΥ (the Fayumic spelling of ΖΟΥΥ) in her transcription, though images reveal clearly that it stands between the *pi* and *hore(h)*. Thus, the manuscript reads the long definite article ΠΕ, not the simple definite π as in Husselman's transcription. In the next case, Husselman reads the last visible letter of this line as a *nu*. However, images show unambiguously that this letter is *delta*, and this change hinders her reconstruction. The *delta* is probably the beginning of the word ΔΕ, and the following ΔΥ- is simply the form of the past affirmative. In the third case, Husselman begins her reconstruction of ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ immediately after the *tau*, though the following epsilon is clearly present in the manuscript. In the last

⁵ E. M. Husselman, *The Gospel of John in Fayumic Coptic (P. Mich. inv. 3521)* (KMA 2; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1962).

⁶ The IGNTP's work on P.Mich. inv. 3521 would not have been possible without the help of Traianos Gagos, who, at the request of Christian Askeland, placed at our disposal multiple, fresh images of the manuscript in a very timely manner.

⁷ I am indebted to Daniel Sharp for bringing this transcriptional mistake to my attention.

case, the *nu* of the possessive article νεγ- is in fact a *pi* (see the picture below). Thus, it is a singular masculine possessive article (“their name”) instead of a plural (“their names”). The four lines should now be read as follows:

Folio 4, recto, line 4

ΜΠΕΞΔΥ ΝΞΔΗ ΝΔΥΚΡΕΜ-

Folio 5, recto, line 5

ΝΙΟΥΔΕΙ Δ[Ε ΔΥΜΙΩΙ ΜΝ]

Folio 7, verso, line 8

ΠΙΣΤΕ[ΥΕ ΕΡΔ]Η ΕΝ ΠΕ-

Folio 20, recto, line 11

[ΕΣΔΥ Κ]ΑΤΑ ΠΕΥΡΕΝ



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SPP 22.28 (= SB 16.12689) and BGU 2.629

SPP 22.28 (republished as SB 16.12689) is a property declaration of AD 162 submitted by a man from Soknopaiou Nesos called Stotoetis, age 35, as recorded in the signature at the end of the declaration. The first few lines with his full name are lost. He has nothing to declare, as he sold one camel from the camel and foal he declared in the previous year, the 1st year of Antoninus and Verus (AD 161), and the foal apparently died (so *BL* 3:238 on SPP 22.28; not in SB 16.12689).⁸ The camel was sold to a man whose father was called Souchas.

A man with the same name, Stotoetis, appears in a similar document BGU 2.629 of the 24th year of Antoninus (AD 161). His full name is Στοτόητις Ὡρου τοῦ Στοτοήτιος, but his age is not recorded. In this document he declares one camel and a foal, down from two camels and a foal he declared in the previous year, the 23rd year (AD 160). The number of camels Stotoetis here declares is identical with the number the Stotoetis of SPP 22.28 declared for the 1st year of Antoninus and Verus.

It is evident that the 24th year of Antoninus is identical with the 1st year of Antoninus and Verus (AD 161).⁹ My aim here is to prove that the Stotoetis in the two documents is the same person and to emend the reading of the SPP 22.28. We cannot rely on the name alone, especially because the full name of

⁸ Bernhard Palme confirmed that the disputed word at the end of line 8 starts with *delta* and ends with *eta*. SPP 22.28 had read λ[εῖπ]ει, which SB 16.12689 changed to δι[αμέ]γει, but δι[εφθά]ρη (cf. *BL* 3:238 on SPP 22.28) suits the traces better. Palme also points out that in line 5 ἐπεὶ δέ (so SPP 22.28.5) is correct. He would transcribe [Αὐρ]η[λίον in line 3 and (with SPP 22.28.11) ἄσχημ(ος) in SB 16.12689.12. In the last line only κυρί[ων Σ]εβαστ[ῶν is now visible.

⁹ The first declaration (BGU 2.629) took place on the third of Mecheir of the 24th year of Antoninus Pius (28 Jan., AD 161), whereas the second declaration (SPP 22.28) took place in the second year of Antoninus and Verus (AD 161/2) where the reference for the dating of the first declaration (ll. 2-3) is not the 24th year of Antoninus Pius but the 1st year of Antoninus and Verus. This is because, according to the Egyptian calendar, there no longer was a previous 24th year of Antoninus Pius in the second year of Antoninus and Verus. Just as documents written from Thoth AD 160 to the death of Pius in Phamenoth AD 161 used the 24th year of Pius for the current date and the 23rd year to refer to the previous year, documents written after the death of Pius until Mesore AD 161 used the 1st year of Antoninus and Verus for the current dating and the 23rd year of Pius for the previous year. Documents written from Thoth 161 to Mesore AD 162 use the second year of Antoninus and Verus for the current date and the 1st year of Antoninus and Verus for the whole of the previous year, including the part of that year Antoninus Pius was still alive. This is, e.g., the case in BGU 1.54 and *P.Lond.* 2.237; so also *BL* 1:17, which corrects BGU 1.90.7.

Stotoetis is not given in *SPP* 22.28, and because the name Stotoetis is common among the inhabitants of Soknopaiou Nesos.¹⁰

The evidence in favor of Stotoetis being the same person in both documents is as follows: first the dating of the two documents; second the number of camels declared; and third and most important the verso of *BGU* 2.629 where we read:

Θέω(ν) Σουχᾶ
ἀπὸ Φρεμεί.

Apparently Stotoetis sold the camel to Theon and wrote down the buyer's name, patronymic, and residence on the verso as an *aide-mémoire* for his declaration of the following year (i.e. *SPP* 22.28). He may have had his copy of the registration document with him to prove that the camel he was selling had been registered.

It may be concluded that Theon son of Souchas in *BGU* 2.629 is the same man to whom Stotoetis sold a camel in *SPP* 22.28. He is said there to be from an ἄμφοδον the name of which is lost in a lacuna. His name is also lost, but the patronymic is preserved. Lines 5-7 read:

π[έπρακα τῷ]
διεληλυθότι μηνὶ Τ[ῦβι - -]
Σουχᾶ ἀπὸ ἀμφοδου [- -]

Φρεμεί, the name of an ἄμφοδον in Arsinoe, fits the lacuna in line 7. This ἄμφοδον is connected with Soknopaiou Nesos in other documents, especially with regard to the temple called Soknopaitaion which was located in this ἄμφοδον and was subordinate to the main temple at Soknopaiou Nesos.¹¹ The man's name, Theon, can also be supplied at the end of line 6 and emend the reading of lines 5-7 as follows:

π[έπρακα τῷ]
διεληλυθότι μηνὶ Τ[ῦβι Θέωνι]
Σουχᾶ ἀπὸ ἀμφοδου [Φρεμεί]

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¹⁰ A search for this name in papy.info rendered 650 results, of which more than half are from Soknopaiou Nesos. Hobson considers it one of the characteristic names of the village; see D.Hobson, "Agricultural and Economic Life in Soknopaiou Nesos," *BASP* 21 (1984) 102.

¹¹ *BGU* 13.2217 (AD 161) and 2218 (I-II AD); *P.David* 1 (AD 138).

Reviews

„... vor dem Papyrus sind alle gleich!“ *Papyrologische Beiträge zu Ehren von Bärbel Kramer* (P. Kramer). Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Beiheft 27. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009. ix + 276 pages + 14 plates. ISBN 978-3-11-020645-6.

The title of the volume under review calls for comment. It implies that no one has an edge over another when confronted with a papyrus for the first time. Most papyrologists know that this is not true – they are just too polite to say so. By training and experience, sometimes by industriousness or sheer genius, some papyrologists – and Bärbel Kramer is one of them – see more and better than others.

The volume consists of a mixture of text editions and articles, sometimes only indirectly tied to papyrology. The volume is more manageable as a Festschrift than the recent “heavyweights” (*P.Bingen*, *P.Sijp*., *P.Worp*) – more like the other Festschriften in the series in which it appeared: *P.Paramone* and now *P.Scholl*. I will concentrate on the text editions, arranged alphabetically by the last name(s) of the editor(s).

Text 2 (III AD) is an amulet-sized charm for (i.a.) victory and favor (χάρις), in the editor’s reconstruction specifically towards Ariston (l. 10: πρὸς Ἀρί]στωνα, with an even more tentative restoration of ll. 11-12 on p. 30, turning Ariston into an adversary in a legal case). The reading of *Magica Varia* 3.6-7 is discussed on pp. 29-30.

Text 4 (V or VI AD; not illustrated) is a leaf from a parchment codex with Daniel 7:11-18 in the translation of Theodotion.

Text 7 (AD 223) is a petition to the royal scribe of the (combined) The-mistou and Herakleidou *merides* of the Arsinoite nome by a man from Tebty-nis. On pp. 106-107 the editor suggests that the combination occurred after 217/8, the date he proposes for SB 24.16094. What if that text reflects a (re-newed) split that occurred after 223? The representation of abbreviation marks is inconsistent (l. 5 κώ(μης) but l. 10 ἐπικαλούμ(ενον)). In l. 7 ἐπὶ αὐτόν (when the man against whom the author is “defending” has not yet been mentioned) makes no sense; I suspect ἐμαυτόν with an awkwardly shaped *mu*.

Text 8 (second half of II AD) is a register of trees.

Texts 11-12 are two re-editions of texts relating to Aurelia Demetria from Hermopolis, known from a number of published and unpublished texts listed

on pp. 152-153. **11** (AD 299; previously known as *SPP* 1.p2.2) is a record of proceedings about the inheritance of her father Polydeukes. **12** (AD 339; previously known as *P.Harrauer* 42) is an affidavit (a petition called *diamartyria*) about the inheritance of her son Asynkritios – against another son.¹

Text **13** (ca. AD 546) is a re-edition of *SPP* 3².145 + *CPR* 24.19, an acknowledgment of debt. The debtor is a *kankellarios*, son of a *notarios*, while the creditor is an *apo primikerion* of the Leontoclibanarii. The annual interest (12%) at the end of l. 5 is said to be “legal,” but I wonder whether that is part of an additional provision in case of default (“If I pass the deadline [in the lacuna earlier in l. 5], I will pay interest at 12% until full payment is effectuated”). The date of the text is reconstructed on the basis of the career of the creditor, known from other texts.

Text **14** (ca. II AD) is a school text with sayings of the seven sages.

Text **15** (AD 629 or 644 according to D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 170 [2009] 156) is a lease of half a house on the street of St. Euphemia in Hermopolis. Accentuate ἐνοίκειον in l. 11.

Text **17** (late Ptolemaic/early Roman) has a zodiac on the front, perhaps the graphic representation of a horoscope, and an account of κομ(), perhaps for γόμ(oi) “loads” (of *chortos*?), on the back. The papyrus derives from cartonnage from Abusir el-Melek, but could be from Alexandria.

Text **20** (VII/VIII AD) is a Coptic letter from a monastic milieu. The clumsily written postscript (ll. 11-13) contrasts nicely with the carefully written body of the text.

Text **21** (III BC) is a draft of an affidavit on the back of a text published in *AncSoc* 36 (2006) 97-109. In l. 3 μεμαρτυρη[does not have to be the beginning of an infinitive.

Text **22** (173/2 BC) is a Demotic text in which a gypsum maker (*ps gd*) from Kerkesephis (“village of Sobek”) contracts for a year the right to make gypsum in the Polemonos *meris* of the Arsinoite nome. The supplement in l. 10 (the Polemonos *meris* outside [the Themistou *meris*]) is somewhat speculative. The guarantor is a woman.

Among the articles I single out C. Armoni’s discussion of the procedure for paying soldiers in the Ptolemaic period, distinguishing regular pay, arrears, and extraordinary payments (**1**, pp. 12-21), W. Habermann’s heavily footnoted preliminary discussion of combustibles (**3**, pp. 32-71; the second part has not yet appeared), H. Kockelmann and S. Pfeiffer’s discussion of the dedication of (parts of) temples in Graeco-Roman Egypt, often for the wellbeing of the

¹ On Aurelia Demetria see also P. van Minnen, “Hermopolis and Its Papyri,” in *100 anni di istituzioni fiorentine per la papirologia* (Firenze 2009) 1-15 at 8-10, adding the Hermopolite *Landlisten* to the mix.

rulers, by a range of dedicators, from the rulers themselves down to private individuals (6, pp. 93-104),² W. Luppe's discussion of hypotheseis of plays by Euripides and Sophocles (9, pp. 116-123, with a handy list of articles written since 1976 by the author on individual hypotheseis on pp. 122-123), K. Maresch's discussion of *phoros* and *ekphorion* ("Erbpacht") or *eparourion* (on private property) paid to the Ptolemaic king for vineyards and garden land (10, pp. 124-133), N. Quenouille and M. Pfrommer's discussion of *P.Mil. Vogl.* 8.309.1.36-2.2, an epigram on a stone (cameo?) showing Darius (III?) (16, pp. 175-185), M. Schentuleit's discussion of women "not without" a guardian in bilingual documents (dating from 20 BC to AD 85) from Soknopaiou Nesos (18, pp. 192-212, a preview of *DDD* 3), and S. Scheuble's discussion of *misthophoroi* and *taktomisthoi* and their relation to *klerouchoi* (19, on pp. 213-222).

There are extensive indices, also of passages and subjects. Mostly clear plates conclude this carefully produced volume.

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² Some of the evidence is marshaled from a different perspective in P. van Minnen, "Euergetism in Graeco-Roman Egypt," in *Politics, Administration and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World* (Leuven 2000) 437-469.

“Festschrift für Günter Poethke zum 70. Geburtstag (P.Poethke),” *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 55 (2009) Heft 2, pages i-iii and 183-534 and plates 6-35. ISSN 0066-6459.

This hefty issue of the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* contains a miscellany of editions and articles in honor of Günter Poethke, the former curator of the Berlin papyrus collection, who has been editor of *APF* for many years. The miscellany is a worthy tribute to his contributions to scholarship. The editions and articles appear in alphabetical order of their author’s last name. I will attempt to provide a more systematical arrangement here.

Literary papyri

Text **10** (late II/early III AD) is a fragment of the *Iliad* (1.86-93) written in continuous lines, presumably a dictation taken by an advanced student. Text **37** (III AD) is *Iliad* 14.1-25, 33-37, 44-68, 76-80, 369-381, and 411-419.

Text **40** (VI AD, Hermopolis) re-edits LDAB 5931, post-classical (?) hexameters on Heracles or his offspring.

Text **24** (later II AD) quotes *Iliad* 18.483 and 485 and appears to claim that poetry trumps (ἡ ποιησις ὑπεραίρει, l. 5) sculpture, a theme familiar from (i.a.) the Second Sophistic.

Text **12** is a re-edition of *PRain.Cent.* 36 and *AnalPap* 14-15 (2002-2003) 111-115, fragments of a fifth-century codex with Philo, *De virtutibus* 62-70. Yet another fragment has been added by F. Morelli, *ZPE* 173 (2010) 167-174.

Text **17** is a re-edition (previously *AnzWien* 110 [1973] 306-312 = *BKT* 9.130) of a “monthly almanac” for Saturn (not Jupiter) for AD 44-58.

Text **35** (late II/early III AD) re-edits *BKT* 9.177, a fragment of the so-called *Acta Alexandrinorum*, more particularly the *Acta Maximi*, written on both sides. In ↓3 ἐ]ξαντῆς followed by an aorist participle would seem to work better than ἐ]ξ αὐτῆς.

Documentary papyri

Text **8** (ca. 235/4 BC, recycled as mummy cartonnage but presumably from the capital of the Arsinoite nome) is a bank register listing various taxes paid over a ten-year period. Payments in bronze were recorded in silver with the usual agio (2.5 obols per tetradrachm), and 0.5 obol was apparently added in the case of χαλκὸς ἰσονόμος. One section of payments (from l. 73) is headed ἀθικτων “untouched” (or “untouchable”). Interestingly, in the section for ὀθονηπά (from l. 83) it appears that the nome capital accounted for a little over

a quarter (26.3%) and the three merides for a little less each, with, predictably, the Themistou meris accounting for the least (22.1%). The note on ll. 148-162 flags the use of the higher rate B of the salt tax for the military. The large figure on the back (almost 80 talents) leads to some speculation as to whether this could be the total for the Arsinoite nome for one year. The translation of the account is on facing pages; the plates are much reduced, and Frs. B-F are not illustrated. Conversion of the font has left some readings obscured. A re-edition with a new ordering of the fragments has appeared in *APF* 57 (2011) 35-54.

Text **18** (Herakleopolite nome, 137 BC) is an instruction from the royal scribe to the *antigraphus* to assist the nome *sitologoi* in the provision of the *thalamegos* (luxury Nile barge) of the *epistrategos* Boethos.

Text **1** (Heracleopolite nome, II BC) is a fragmentary record of the public sale of confiscated property. After the initial steps and a setback (counterclaim or *exomosia*) the sale eventually took place in the Harmaieion in Heracleopolis. The editor returns to her interpretation of *PSI Com.* 6 11 (another example of a counterclaim) in n. 19 (pp. 190-191).

Texts **2-4** (AD 50-80; **2** is from 79/80) are ostraca from Berenike mentioning water shipments by camel drivers from Koptos associated with the *endelechisterion* (or *entelechisterion*) of Kronos. The editors derive this *hapax* from ἐνδελεχής “perpetual” but cannot explain what it means.

Text **27** (II AD) is a register of taxpayers, to judge from the names most likely from Soknopaiou Nesos. That will also be the provenance of the novel on the back (LDAB 4554). In l. 28, Τεμπεραφρύ(μεως) is printed without dots in the text but with several dots in the note. Text **33** (AD 151) is a receipt for customs duties from Kaine in the Arsinoite nome. The reading of *P.Fay.* 67 (*P.Customs* 9) is also corrected (pp. 423-425).

Text **14** (II AD) is an order (ἐπιστολείδιον, ll. 5-6) to supply four artabas of wheat. Text **15** (III AD) is a letter instructing the two addressees to buy θέρμον and ἐρεγμός (written ἐρεχμός). Text **16** (II AD) is an account of expenses for agriculture. In line 4, conversion of the Greek font seems to have created another problem (an intrusive capital *pi*).

Text **11** (Narmouthis, II/III AD) is a plan recording an *aule* of 20.5 by 5.167 cubits.

Text **20** (II or early III AD) is an ἀπαιτήσιμον κατ’ ἄνδρα, a list of landowners with the amount of taxes in kind they owe. In line 4 of the Greek text “3/4” occurs instead of δ. On the verso is text **21**, a circular letter to the *strategoi* of the Heptanomia and the Arsinoite nome.

Text **22** (AD 208) is a receipt issued by a gymnasiarch for the delivery of chaff by the elders of Theadelpheia to the chief gymnasium in the nome capital.

The readings proposed by D. Hagedorn and recorded in the notes to ll. 3-4 should have been incorporated into the text.

Text 36 (IV AD, Hermopolis) is an instruction from a *gnoster* to a *geouchos*, both known from other papyri in the Leipzig collection, to stop bothering a third person. In l. 6 I rather suspect εὔρε\ν/ Παρᾶ[.]τον δοῦλον instead of εὔρε\ν/ γὰρ αὖ τὸν δοῦλον. Paratus sounds like a good name for a slave. Text 5 (Hermopolite nome; V AD?) is an “order to arrest” three individuals listed at the bottom and send them to Hermopolis with a guard. The order is sent by Taurinus, a procurator no doubt acting on behalf of higher authority, to the eirenarchs (?) of the village of Isidorou. While the eisthesis posited for lines 5-7 appears certain, that for line 4, itself squeezed in, seems dubious. There are addenda to the lists of “orders to arrest” in *ZPE* 66 (1986) 95-98 and *BASP* 33 (1996) 95-96 on pp. 209-211 and a discussion of the formulaic structure of these texts on pp. 211-214.

Text 28 (AD 548 or 564) is a *misthapoche*, a lease made before sowing with the immediate payment of the rent, for one aroura of land located on the edge of the lessor’s farmstead in the marsh of Thynis in the Hermopolite nome. The lessor is from Thynis; the lessee, represented by an *oiketes*, is a *scholastikos* and former *ekdikos* (*defensor civitatis*) of Hermopolis; the rent is 1.67 *solidus*, which is high but may well be explained by the fact that the land is leased for only one year and is currently ἐν ἀναπαυματικῷ τόπῳ (l. 14). Text 29 (AD 549/50 or 564/5?) is the advance sale of the crops, made after sowing with the immediate payment of the purchase price, grown on 2.125 arouras of land located in the marsh of Thynis in the Hermopolite nome. The seller is the same as the lessor in text 28, and the buyers are also from Thynis; 1 aroura is ἐν ἀναπαύματι and will yield a fodder crop; 1.125 arouras are sown and will yield a wheat crop. A table on p. 400 collects the evidence (nine texts including 28 and 29) for the agricultural use of marshland.

Text 31 (the date given by the editor, V/VI AD, is too early) is a daily account of grapes or raisins (σταφ()). Throughout, Μακάρι κ() has to be read as μακαρικ(ά) for μαγαρικ(ά), containers of some sort, on which see *O.Bawit IFAO* 36.3n.

Text 34 is a re-edition of the Coptic sections of P.Yale inv. 1804. The Greek sections of this codex were earlier re-edited in *Tyche* 11 (1996) 97-106. The codex seems to come from the monastery of Apa Sourous at Antinoopolis. It contains various documents, some written at a 180° angle to the text on the other side. The list of books A8 (↑) on p. 432 is particularly tantalizing (only the *Martyrdom of St. ...* and a book [of/about] *St. Gregory the Thaumaturge* can be made out; ἄγιος is used in both cases, but for the female saint – or feminine abstract concept – in l. 12, οὐγγαβ is used). There is a discussion of

Coptic leases, of which more than ten examples are preserved in the codex, on pp. 444-453, and the editor, T.S. Richter, announces the publication of his *Habilitationsschrift* on this topic in the series *Papyrologica Vindobonensia* in n. 10 (p. 427).

Text **26** (VII/VIII AD) is an account of payments for *dianome* from Narmouthis. (Narmouthis is also the origin of SB 14.11652.)

Texts **38** (VII/VIII) and **39** (AD 729) are tax receipts from Hermopolis. In **38.3** it should be ἀρ(ι)θ(μίου) and in **39.2** νοτ(ίνου) σκ(έ)λ(ου), the southern part of the Hermopolite nome in the early Arab period.

Other

In **13** K. Hallof and S. Prignitz join two fragments of a third-century BC inscription from Lindos, *I.Lindos* 2.107 and *IG* 12.1.822. In **32** S. Prignitz discusses two short graffiti from Phokis.

In **30** F. Montanari discusses the corrections in *P.Oxy.* 24.2404 + *ZPE* 115 (1997) 172-174, an edition of Aeschines, *In Ctes.* In **6** G. Bastianini confirms from the offset ink that the correct order of the fragments of the so-called Artemidorus papyrus is B-C, A, with the last two images on the *recto*, detached from C, following A. This makes it all the more likely that Artemidorus was not the author of cols. 1-3 on A; cf. my remarks in *BASP* 46 (2009) 171. In **23** W. Luppe attempts a reconstruction of *P.Goodspeed Lit.* 2e dealing with the myth of Andromeda.

In **9** J. Diethart discusses Greek adverbs derived from prepositional phrases. In **19** J. Kramer discusses a Gallic word, *baskaula*, which appears in papyri as βασκαύλης.

In **25** K. Maresch discusses additional taxes in kind and improves the reading of *P.Oxy.Hels.* 22.23-27 and *SB* 20.14088.9-12.

In **7** M. Capasso discusses the excavations in the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum. In **41** V. Valske discusses the excavations in Boubastis in the Delta.

Publications by Günter Poethke are listed on pp. 499-509. Indices to the texts included in the issue follow. The photos at the back are of uneven quality, depending on the institution where the papyri are kept. Apart from the occasional typographical blemish flagged above, the issue provides important additions to our corpus of papyrological texts in Greek and Coptic.

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N. Gonis and D. Colomo (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 72. Graeco-Roman Memoirs 92. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2008. xiii + 203 pages + 16 plates. ISBN 978-0-85698-181-4.

This volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* contains editions of 87 papyri arranged by content and date in five Parts: I. New Testament (2 items: **4844-4845**), II. Hexameter Poetry (8 items: **4846-4853**), III. Rhetorical Texts (2 items: **4854-4855**), IV. Documents of the Roman Period (37 items: **4856-4892**), and V. Documents of the Byzantine Period (38 items: **4893-4930**). The pieces belonging to the last category are further subdivided (see below). Some of the Parts and their subdivisions are provided with general introductions. Ten scholars have contributed editions, but the lion's share of the editing has been carried out by N. Gonis, one of the two co-editors, who appears equally at home in diverse areas. The other co-editor, D. Colomo, has taken on the publication of one of the challenging rhetorical texts in Part III. It is obviously impossible in a short review to do full justice to the individual texts published in the volume, but in what follows I have done my best to extract and present significant details and problems for the benefit of workers in the various fields of relevance.

The two New Testament papyri published in Part I (**4844-4845**, ed. J.D. Thomas with the assistance of David Parker) both come from leaves of papyrus codices with 1-2 Corinthians. **4844** (1 Corinthians 14:31-34; 15:3-6), probably of the earlier part of the fourth century, may have belonged to the first half of a single-quire codex similar in format to Group 8 in Turner's classification.¹ **4845** (2 Corinthians 11.1-4; 6-9), on the other hand, was clearly part of a de luxe codex assignable to Group 1.² Written in the variant of Alexandrian majuscule based on the square pattern,³ it can be provisionally dated to the sixth century. A remarkable feature is the layout: new verses start on fresh lines with divisions signalled (consistently, it seems) by *paragraphoi*. The blank spaces at line-ends are an inevitable by-product. In both texts *nomina sacra* were of course used.

Of the eight pieces of otherwise unknown hexameter poetry contained in Part II (**4846-4853**), all were edited by N. Gonis except **4850** (ed. C. Meliadò) and **4851** (ed. A. Nodar). Most are meager scraps from papyrus rolls and codices or opisthograph sheets ranging in date from the first century BC/AD to the fourth century AD and most seem to preserve local (and not particularly

¹ E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 20-21.

² Turner (n. 1) 14-15.

³ G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period* (London 1987) 23.

polished) compositions of the Hellenistic or Imperial ages on a variety of traditional themes taken from myth. The names of two otherwise unknown poets and titles of two new poems are recovered.

4846 (Hexameters on Peleus), the earliest of the fragments, exhibits at least one Doric vocalization (l. 5: θνατῶι). Discussing its date in the introduction, the editor could have adduced a feature of Hellenistic poetry (genitive singular in -εῖος of names in -εύς) he draws attention to in l. 6 n. on the form Ν]ηρεῖος. In **4847** (Hexameters on a Trojan Subject) preponderance of the masculine caesura and language (λ]όγχις in l. 3 and the collocation ἐ]πὶ τείχεσι in l. 6) point to a local composition of the Imperial age.⁴ In the little that remains of **4848**, parts of two hexameters, the subject appears to have been seafaring and gain. In this context a hitherto unattested word occurs (l. 2: ἀμοίβιμα). The editor articulates κ]ατ' ἀμοίβιμα, rejecting the alternative of the compound κ]αταμοίβιμα ("does not have a plausible ring") in spite of ἐπαμοίβιμα (*h. Merc.* 516) cited in his n. ad loc. **4849** (Hexameters on Neoptolemos) is remarkable on account of the numerous lectional signs, all apparently added by a second hand. Though the reference to Neoptolemos depends on restoration (↓ l. 7 Νεοπολ]έμοιο), it is strongly supported by the context (e.g. → l. 5 παῖς Ἀχιλ]ήος). **4850** is the meatiest fragment of the batch with beginnings of 39 hexameters on one side (speech) and ends of 35 on the other (reply to a previous speech). Nonetheless, not only is the correct sequence of the sides impossible to determine but it is also extremely difficult to pinpoint the subject, as the various possibilities suggested in the introduction (Theban cycle, Trojan cycle, Hesiodic progression from the rustic to the heroic) make all too clear. It is even uncertain whether it comes from a codex or an opisthographic sheet and is perhaps an autograph. The predominance of feminine caesuras and the combination of Homeric language with pathetic expression (cf. the repetitions in → ll. 14-16 and ll. 5-6), however, betray it as a more polished product of Imperial epic. **4851**, which preserves parts of the last six lines of a column and a fragmentary end-title (name of the author + title of the work on the same line and separated by a space) written in sloping Severe Style, seems to derive from the end of an encomium or a hymn celebrating Hermes and Thoeis rather than from a standard epic (cf. first-person κάμοιμι in l. 5 and possible vocatives in l. 4). Thoeis was an Egyptian hippopotamus-goddess equated with Athena and having a cult-centre at Oxyrhynchus. The title is most probably to be restored Ἑρμ]ῆς, but Ἑρμ]αθήνη (Parsons) cannot quite be ruled out. The author, Ausonios, may have been a native of or resident at Oxyrhynchus. In view of the genre

⁴ Whereas the feminine caesura still preponderates in the more polished poets of the Imperial period, in the less refined the masculine prevails; see M.L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982) 177.

and subject of his composition, an affiliation with the gymnasium there would appear likely. **4852** (Hexameters on Meleager), which mentions a boar (→ l. 1: σῦ[ς]), Meleager (→ l. 5: Με]λέαγρος) and, if Benaissa's proposal, reported in l. 4 n. is right, the city of Calydon (↓ l. 4: ἄστυ πεσ<ε>ῖν Κ[αλυδώνος), may come from the same sort of poem as those ascribed to the Upper Egyptian poets Soterichus of Oasis and Colluthus of Lycopolis and named Καλυδωνιακά. At any rate, the reference to the fall of a city suggests the Imperial period (cf. ↓ l. 4 n.). **4853** is surrounded with uncertainty. Does it preserve an end-title (colophon) or, as the even upper edge indicates, a book-tag (*sillybos*)? Was the author called Areios (Ἀρείου) or did he have a longer name (e.g. Δ[αρείου)? Was the title *Theogamia* (Θ)εογαμία alone or did it consist of two words? Was the poem, considering the fourth-century date of the papyrus, of Christian or pagan origin? Was it even in hexameters? The editor's choice (| Ἀρείου | [Θ]εογαμία as the book-tag to a pagan hexameter poem) is surely the most likely.

The two texts published in Part III, **4854** (ed. W.E.H. Cockle and P.J. Parsons, who prepared Cockle's draft for publication) and **4855** (ed. D. Colomo), increase our evidence for the instruction of rhetoric in second- and third-century Oxyrhynchus and further illuminate the transmissional history of rhetorical literature in general. Given the difficulties inherent in the material, the editors have wisely sought the advice of such authorities as D.A. Russell, D.C. Innes, and M.F. Heath, whose comments have contributed to the overall quality of the editions.

4854 consists of three fragments from leaves of a papyrus codex overlapping in part with the *First Treatise on Rhetoric* (Τεχνῶν ῥητορικῶν α') falsely attributed in the medieval manuscripts to the famous rhetor Aelius Aristides (117-c. 187). The original order of the fragments and sides is uncertain, but, as can be seen from their content (Fr. A → [§§ 134, 135, 109, 111, 113, 116], Fr. A ↓ [§§ 119, 165], Fr. B → [§§ 136, 137], Fr. B ↓ [not in the medieval text], Fr. C → [not in the medieval text], Fr. C ↓ [not in the medieval text]), the papyrus contained at once more and less than the treatise and arranged it in a different order. In all likelihood, the handbook represents the personal adaptation by a teacher or scholar of a more or less identifiable work. The use of an elaborate system of abbreviations commonly found in such scholarly texts strengthens the impression.

4855 brings together two fragments of a rhetorical handbook, preserving one nearly complete column each. They are written on the back of a recycled τόμος συγκολλήσιμος made up of land-sales (πράσεις). A dating formula on the recto (to the 22nd year of Caracalla = 213/4) shows that one column is lost between the two preserved and a title under the second column (τέχνη ῥητορική, without the name of the author) that it bears the end of the work.

The last three columns of this handbook apparently contained, in inverse order, the final two προγυμνάσματα of the *cursus*: (1) the νόμου εισφορά-exercise (cols. i-ii) and (2) the θέσεις-exercise (cols. ii-iii). The first surviving column (fr. 1) presents the analysis of πρόσωπον (ll. 1-10) and πρᾶγμα (ll. 10-24) into parts, each of which is further subdivided by reference to a case involving an imaginary law. In the second surviving column (fr. 2), θέσεις are classified from various points of view. The theory, however, differs from the rest of the tradition in several respects (cf. introd., pp. 43-44 and 71-74). The most significant novelty is perhaps the tripartite classification of the θέσεις **through the addition** of the previously unattested θέσεις ἠθικαί to the θέσεις θεωρητικάι and θέσεις πραγματικάι. Once again, the papyrus probably reflects the needs of a local teacher of rhetoric drawing on an evolving tradition.⁵ The editor's introduction and commentary are detailed and informative. The latter also includes a number of helpful comparative tables, which provide guidance in the jungle, and is followed by several pages of concluding remarks. But I wonder whether these remarks might more effectively have been paired down and incorporated in the introduction, since they are continuously referred to and partly repeat matters discussed there in any case.

Of the thirty-five documents of the Roman Period published in Part IV (4856-4892), thirty-one (4856-4885, 4887-4889) contain orders for the transfer of credit in grain (διαστολικά), one of them (4887) preceded by a notice of transfer, two (4886, 4890) notices of transfer, one (4891) an application for seed-corn and the last (4892) apparently the report of a village scribe, included because it was reused some 150 years later for a writing exercise (4895). The transfers (and notices) are furnished with a general introduction written by Gonis, who is also responsible for almost all of the editions. Only 4887-4888 (ed. J. de Jong) and 4891 (ed. L. Capponi) were contributed by others. Whether De Jong or Gonis dealt with 4886 is unclear, since the former's initials appear in the Table of Papyri (p. x), whereas the latter's name comes under the actual edition.

All but three of the texts gathered in this section (4872, 4891, 4892) belong to a group or "archive" which, to judge by their inventory numbers, was unearthed in the same rubbish mound during Grenfell and Hunt's third season at Oxyrhynchus and includes a number of items published in earlier volumes

⁵ This papyrus is cited by L. Del Corso, "Libri di scuola e sussidi didattici nel mondo antico," in L. Del Corso and O. Pecere (eds.), *Libri di scuola e pratiche didattiche. Dall'Antichità al Rinascimento* 1 (Cassino 2010) 103, who also considers the possibility that it might belong to the category of "libri in 'assenza di scuola': libri, cioè, scritti per consentire ai lettori di apprendere certe conoscenze specialistiche di cui avessero bisogno ... senza dover seguire cicli interi di *akroaseis* tenute da uno specialista" (p. 105).

of the *P.Oxy.* series and elsewhere (*P.Lips.* 1.112-117). The constituent pieces, which range in date from 11 November 99 to around 231, are for the most part addressed to or issued by the *sitologoi* of about two dozen granaries. A few, however, are directed to *strategoi*, and this fact together with their find-spot suggests that the “archive” might derive from a section of the office of the Oxyrhynchite *strategos* in charge of checking the accuracy of the *sitologos* accounts and reports (cf. pp. 75-76 of the general introduction).

All of the transfers and notices published in this volume come from the second century (2 August 118-176/7, reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius) with the exception of one (4890, 211) and have been chosen for the light they shed on the prosopography of the landowners (e.g. Claudius Munatianus, Iulii Theones) and the agrarian history of the Oxyrhynchite nome, with some emphasis on the operation of estates in this period. Within their general framework, characterized by the presence of the imperatives διάστειλον or διαστείλατε (“transfer”) and the term θέμα (“deposit”), they display a certain degree of variance. Generally their structure is elaborate (e.g. 4860), though once in a while it is relatively simple (e.g. 4880). In 4872 two orders are found on the same sheet. Sometimes the payer requests the giro transfer directly, sometimes he or she is represented by a subordinate (e.g. 4857 [γραμματεὺς], 4859 [οἰκονόμος], 4863 [ἐπίτροπος], 4871 [φροντιστής], 4881 [ἀπελεύθερος καὶ οἰκονόμος]), relative (4874 [ἀνεψιός], 4875 [νιός]), or friend (e.g. 4878 [φίλος]). Sometimes the payee is a single person, with accounts in one or more granaries, at other times a plurality, and here too occasionally representatives are engaged (e.g. 4876 [γεωργοί]). In 4889 thirteen transfers are issued, the largest number yet known of transactions requested in a single document of this kind. In some cases the transfers are internal, but frequently they are made between accounts in different granaries. One or more *sitologoi* of various districts and toparchies may be addressed and once, somewhat unexpectedly, associate *sitologoi* (4878 [μέτοχοι σιτόλογοι]) also turn up. Texts directed to the *sitologos* of Ophis, in particular, are not uncommon in the group (list in 4870 introd.). The amounts transferred range from a mere four choenices (4864), the lowest hitherto attested, to 700 artabas, the highest (4863, cf. also the first order in 4872 requesting the transfer of 591 artabas 3 choenices). In the latter case, a large estate is clearly involved. The purpose of the transfers is rarely, if ever stated, but the settlement of rent and land dues as well as the payment and repayment of loans must have been the most common (cf. general introduction, p. 76).

Part V (Documents of the Byzantine Period) falls into two sections: Miscellaneous Dated Documents (4893-4922) and Documents from the Dossier of the “Apion Family” (4923-4930). The second of these sections is further sub-

divided into Receipts for Meat Rations (4923-4925) and Orders and a Receipt for the Supply of Bread (4926-4929). An Acknowledgement of Debt (4930), though not strictly belonging to the archive of the "Apion Family," is tacked on because it involves one of the estate's central administrators.

The 30 items that appear under the heading Miscellaneous Dated Documents (4893-4922) were all edited by Gonis and are preceded by a short introduction. They range in date from 26 April 375 to 4 May 582, the majority datable to the exact day. Loans of money are well represented, but, owing to their fragmentary condition, a few documents resist certain identification. Although most are scrappy, all preserve titbits of interesting information, including many firsts, lasts and previously or otherwise unknowns. Some provide the earliest or only dating by a given consulate (4894, 4900, 4902, 4905, 4907, 4913, 4917); others the latest or only record of a postconsulate (4897, 4899, 4903, 4911, 4912, 4914, 4915, 4921). In a few cases the phrasing of the consular date clause diverges from the wording of those known (4896, 4908, 4916). Several texts refer to soldiers enlisted in various military units (*Mauri scutarii* in 4893, *legio I Maximiana* in 4900, *Transtigritani* in 4911 and *Leontoclibanarii* in 4919 and 4920), increasing the scanty evidence for the presence of their members at Oxyrhynchus in the period. A number of other fragments enrich our knowledge of offices and occupations (e.g. 4898 and 4904 [συστάτης], 4902 [σκρινιάριος], 4903 [ἰσικιάριος], 4909 [μαγιστριανός], 4922 [στιπποπραγματευτής]). Worthy of note are also 4897, containing early instances of certain monetary terms (εὔσταθος and δόκιμος); 4901, the earliest securely dated Oxyrhynchite sale of wine on delivery published; 4914, the earliest attestation of a landowning Christian priest in Oxyrhynchus; cf. also 4915); and 4917, a lease of uncommon type. The name of an unknown village occurs in 4916 (Τινωτβε).

The documents belonging to the dossier of the Apion estate (ἐνδοξος οἶκος) have been edited by A. Benaissa (4924, 4926, 4928) and A. Syrkou (4923, 4925, 4927, 4929, 4930), the former being also the author of the general introduction to this section (4923-4930) and its two subdivisions (4923-4925, 4926-4929). Three are receipts for meat supplied to soldiers (4923, 4925) or *buccellarii* (4924; on the term see 4924 1-2 n.), three orders for the supply of bread (4926, 4928, 4929), one a receipt for the supply of bread (4927) and the last an acknowledgement of debt (4930). The receipts and orders, whose protagonists are Menas the pork-butcher (χοιρομάγειρος) and Pamouthios provost of the monastery of Mousaios (προεστώς μονῆς or ἀρχιμανδρίτης μοναστηρίου, depending on the scribe), come from the middle of the sixth century (550-564) and are written *transversa charta*. All but 4924 were certainly found during Grenfell and Hunt's first season and 4924 probably was

too. They are very similar to several texts published in the sixteenth volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (see the tables in the general introductions to **4923-4925** and **4926-4929**). Some were even drafted by the same scribe (**2013**, **2014**, **4923** and **4924**; **4926** and **4928**). Though most of these documents are intact or nearly intact, the exact circumstances and the relationship between the parties involved remain a matter of interpretation and hypothesis. Are the soldiers performing state (public) or estate (private) functions? Is the bread meant for the provision of estate labourers during the harvest?⁶ The brief statements of purpose occurring in the receipts (λόγω ἀναλ(ώματος) in **4923**, **4924** and **4925** or λόγω τροφῆς in **4927**) do not answer these questions. The interest of the last and latest text of the section (**4930**, 29 August-21 November 614), the acknowledgement of debt, lies not only in its mention of Fl. Sergios, *comes* and *dioiketes* of the Apion estate, and possible instance of career advancement within the administration of that estate, but also in its reference to hitherto unparalleled solidi of 18 carats on the Alexandrian standard.

All the documentary texts in Parts IV and V have been accurately translated and in each case the specific points of interest have been explicitly indicated in the introductions, revealing comprehensive knowledge on the part of the editors.

A set of sixteen indexes follows, the last (Index XVI) containing a list of corrections to published texts suggested in the introductions and notes to the papyri edited in *P.Oxy.* 72. Sixteen is also the number of the colour plates which complete the volume. All of the literary pieces and a few of the documentary texts are reproduced (most in life-size). High- and low-resolution images of the whole lot are of course available at the Oxyrhynchus Papyri website (<http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>).

Among the many who will find things of interest in *P.Oxy.* 72 are also palaeographers. **4845** is written in Alexandrian majuscule (Pls. II-III). **4863**, **4869** and **4876** are penned in elegant cursives and the work of professional scribes. **4895** and **4905** (Pl. XII) are probably writing exercises. **4895** (later than 380), moreover, was written on the back of **4892** (17 July 236?) over 140 years later. Such an interval between the original use and recycling of a papyrus is attested in a single other case (cf. **4892** introd., paragr. 2).

P.Oxy. 72 is a finely executed piece of work and fully meets the high standards of the series we have grown accustomed to over the years. The editors deserve our enduring gratitude for making so many new texts available and succinctly providing the information needed for their understanding. Mis-

⁶For a further possibility ("payment for 'corvée' work on the irrigation system") see A. Benaissa, "Korr. Tyche 573," *Tyche* 22 (2007) 217-218.

prints and errors are few and trivial. If I list the ones I came across below, it is merely out of a sense of duty.

P. vii (Contents): the page numbers for List of Plates, Numbers and Plates and Note on the Method of Publication and Abbreviations should be xii, xii and xiii (instead of xi, xi and xii) respectively.

P. 3, **4845** introd., first paragr.: written {of} area

P. 7, **4846** introd., first paragr.: seven lines → six lines

P. 34, **4854** Fr. A ↓ transl., second paragr.: it is {is} dreadful

P. 40, **4855** introd., paragr. 3: in a slightly bigger size → in slightly larger letters

P. 42, **4855** introd., paragr. 9: the other<s> being

P. 43, **4855** introd., paragr. 10: they appear{s}

P. 43, **4855** introd., paragr. 11: particular<ly>

P. 43, **4855** introd., paragr. 11: ἡθικαί (correct the breathing)

P. 45, **4855** introd., List of editions, Hermogenes: refer<s>

P. 51, **4855** Fr. 2 (col. iii) pal. app. l. 9: approaching {to}

P. 57, **4855** Fr. 1 (col. i) l. 5 n.: The words introduce{s}

P. 75, **4856-4890** introd., paragr. 2: {a} several

P. 75, **4856-4890** introd., paragr. 6: when → that

P. 86, **4862**: first line projects (ἐν ἐκθέσει), but not so transcribed and unmentioned

P. 90, **4865** transl. l. 9: year seven{th}. Here and elsewhere (e.g. p. 99, **4873** transl. l. 10: year seventeen{th}) idiom requires the cardinal numeral when it follows “year.”

P. 95, **4871** ll. 1-2 n.: in the service of {of} another lady

P. 109, **4881** transl. l. 3: eastern → western (λιβὸς)

P. 110, **4882** l. 3 n.: it <is> also unclear

P. 143, **4904** app.: 4 ἴδια[v] → 7 ἴδια[v]

P. 172, **4925** l. 1: ἡμερ[ο]υ(σίωζ) → ἡμε[ρο]υ(σίωζ), cf. app.

P. 175, **4927** l. 2 n., paragr. 2: handelt <es> sich

Paul Heilporn, *Thèbes et ses taxes. Recherches sur la fiscalité en Égypte romaine (Ostraca de Strasbourg II)*. Paris: De Boccard, 2009. 428 pages. ISBN 978-2-7018-0265-7.

After three quarters of a century the sequel to P. Viereck's edition of *O.Stras.* (1923) has come out from the pen of P. Heilporn. Like its predecessor, *O.Stras.* 2 includes demotic and bilingual ostraca where relevant. Unlike its predecessor, it comes with a more developed commentary for each ostrakon and a lengthy introduction (even longer than the edition of the texts) covering the three "dossiers" (or "groupes de textes") included. The economical presentation of the texts in *O.Stras.* 1 allowed its editor to include 812 texts and fob the reader off with generous references to a volume of commentary – which never appeared. *O.Stras.* 2, which is the slightly larger volume, includes just 94 texts (**813-906**).

The quality of the illustrations leaves something to be desired. They appear in the text, as in *O.Heid.*, but are often too dark to be read. No provision has apparently been made for putting images online. In a few cases, where *O.Stras.* 2 reedits an item published elsewhere, no illustration is included; it can often be found in the earlier publication (e.g., *P.Zauzich* 32-34, here **897, 900, and 901**).

Only 63 of the 94 texts are ostraca from the Strasbourg collection; the others are ostraca from other collections that belong to one of the three dossiers included, mainly Toronto with Florence as runner-up. This volume by no means exhausts the Greek holdings of the Strasbourg collection of ostraca; about as many remain for study as have been published thus far. Moreover, there are about as many demotic ostraca as there are Greek ones, and they are by and large untouched.

The edition meets the high standards expected of ostraca publications today. The introduction and appendix cover many of the issues raised by the texts more systematically. The strength of ostraca lies in their number: each ostrakon, while not always exciting in itself, is part of a series that demonstrates something of value to the study of the ancient world, both in terms of the added knowledge (e.g., about much neglected areas of the ancient experience such as taxation) and its quality – by their sheer number ostraca often provide statistically more reliable data than any other written source. This volume of tax receipts is no exception.

O.Stras. 2 provides a clearer view of the administration of Roman Thebes (chapter 2, pp. 33-69, following a general introduction in chapter 1, pp. 11-31; there is no map), especially the Ophieum district (first part of chapter 3, pp.

71-90 on **813-835**, reediting several ostraca published in *PSI*).¹ The remainder of chapter 3 presents the two more substantial archives included, that of Psais son of Senphthoumonthes (pp. 90-116 on **836-860**, also reediting several ostraca published elsewhere; a table of texts on pp. 114-116) and that of Horos and his son Chabochonsis (pp. 116-175 on 861-906, reediting several ostraca published in *O.Ont.Mus.* and elsewhere; a family tree appears on p. 121; a table of texts on pp. 129-133).

In the general introduction² the editor (pp. 19-20) argues that the tax receipts were kept by those to (not: by) whom they were issued; whether they were found in the debris of their houses or mixed up with other materials in dumps is another matter, which cannot be addressed for lack of relevant excavations in the area of ancient Thebes. The focus on the taxpayers is a welcome feature of *O.Stras.* 2. The editor also defends the idea that the *chomatikon* was a kind of *adaeratio* of the *corvée* (p. 25, n. 91), by pointing out that the only case where the same person performs the *corvée* and still pays the *chomatikon* (*O.Wilck.* 444 and 1043) the latter is a partial payment only.

In his discussion of the administration of Roman Thebes the editor maintains that the translation of “district” for *λαύρα* is to be preferred over “quarter” because of the presence of agricultural land (p. 41). In his presentation of the Ophieum dossier (or dossiers) he gives a useful up-to-date table of poll tax rates for all of Roman Egypt (pp. 80-81). In his discussion of the archive of Psais son of Senphthoumonthes the editor provides some discussion of the famous end-of-year decree of Hadrian, introducing a kind of payment plan for money taxes (pp. 94-97; this decree of year 20 did not coincide with a census, as the editor points out on p. 97, n. 192). Against the editor, who thinks that the *ἐλλειμα τελωνικῶν* would only be known after the collection of the taxes (p. 113), I think that the state would know it as soon as they had farmed out the collection to tax farmers, before these had even collected anything.

Especially laudable in the discussion of the Horos and his son Chabochonsis archive is the editor’s *rapprochement* between the ostraca of Chabochonsis, who often (in 17 cases) adds a line or two of Demotic to the Greek receipt before he “archived” it, and a Book of Breathing belonging to one Chabochonsis on p. 119, n. 296, even if an identification of the two is at present beyond our means.

¹ The Ophieum dossier confusingly consists by and large of three smaller dossiers: that of Papones son of Pamonthes, **813-818**; that of Petchespochrates son of Tithoes, **819-825**; and that of Psenamounis son of Psenchonsis, **826-833**; to all of which two more ostraca, **834-835**, are added

² Note that ostraca are attested from the Old Kingdom (p. 11, n. 1 speaks erroneously of the *Haut-Empire*), and that *O.Amst.* 8 upon re-edition turned out to be an inscribed vase, not an ostrakon (p. 11, n. 9).

Such Demotic annotations are rare after the middle of the first century AD and have to do with the fact that Chabochonsis the taxpayer is a priest. The whole discussion of the use of Demotic on pp. 133-150 and in the editor's article of 2008 listed on p. 392 is worth pondering.

In a discussion of "intermediaries" (signaled by *διὰ* in the texts) responsible for the payment of certain taxes, the editor says the following: "peut-être est-il possible que le contrat de location qu'ils signaient avec les propriétaires ou locataires officiels ait prévu que ce soit le γεωργός [throughout mistranslated "agriculteur" instead of "locataire"] qui se charge de payer aux receveurs ou d'amener au grenier public la part due à l'État" (p. 157). Unfortunately, such stipulations do not occur in extant leases (which admittedly almost all come from Middle Egypt).

For the texts (chapter 4, pp. 177-332) one first has to ponder the comments in the general introduction about *Verschleifung* (rapid writing that reduces the number of discrete strokes and sometimes makes entire characters disappear) and how to represent it in an edition (pp. 28-30); the upshot is that the apparatus in *O.Stras.* 2, which already records the shape of abbreviations, is also burdened with recording *Verschleifung*. Neither is really necessary, if an edition also provides a legible photo and a hand copy of the ostrakon. Unfortunately the photos in this edition are by and large illegible, and hand copies for Greek ostraca are "not done." With the magisterial edition of early Ptolemaic ostraca in *O.Taxes* 2 as a model, we are bound to see more of them in the future. As a rule (exceptions do occur) the apparatus does *not* correct orthographical mistakes; for this the notes have to be consulted (but they are relatively rare).

Also on p. 30 the editor lists the symbols he has admitted into his texts and translations. While most of these will not pose any problem to the veteran ostracologist (except the symbol for Ἀγοραί: in, e.g., 819.2 the symbol on the ostrakon does not look like the one used by the editor in the transcription at all), neophytes are bound to be put off by them. Resolving symbols makes for easier reading, helps avoid confusion (the symbols for τετρώβολον and πεντώβολον are only faintly distinguishable in print; the ones for 1 obol (–) and 2 obols (=) are not listed; the symbol for δραχμή and the alternative symbols for ἔτος and ἡμῖς are varieties of the same squiggle³), and forces editors to put in the correct syntax wherever possible.

The editor apparently tried to keep every line on the ostrakon one line in *O.Stras.* 2, and for this he had to use symbols as well as a rather small font size for the Greek texts. The unfortunate result is that the most important part of

³ In, e.g., 819.2 the same squiggle is used on the ostrakon for ἡμῶν βέλιον but represented in the transcription by the editor's symbol.

the edition (surely the critical edition of the ancient texts) is printed smaller than the French that surrounds it.

813 of AD 81 re-edits *P.Reinach* 2.131, for which there is an online image. There is not enough interpunction in the Greek text (two periods are missing, which the reader can supply from the translation). The apparatus to l. 1 does not make clear what the *ed.princ.* read on the ostrakon (deletion of the last two words), and it also skips one of the abbreviated names. In l. 2 the second time the symbol for δραχμαί is printed it is not on the ostrakon (same mistake in **816.2**; the translation correctly puts “dr.” between <>). In l. 3 the scribe writes out Αὐτοκράτορος and in l. 4 κυρίου and the month name Σεβαστοῦ. This contrasts with the abbreviated personal names in l. 1, the abbreviated taxes in l. 2, and the abbreviated tax collector’s name in l. 5. Apparently the scribe – and the scribes generally – went out of their way to preserve the imperial names and titles intact, not because they were the more essential information that had to be conveyed, but because they were held in greater awe. Finally, line 5 is indented on the ostrakon. Let us hope that the harvest of *minutiae* in this paragraph alone would not be as substantial for the other ostraca in *O.Stras.* 2 had proper illustrations been available.

819.2n uses *Hackenalpha* for *Hakenalpa* (same mistake in **837.4n**), but is otherwise an important note on the level of the *chomatikon* from year 10 of Domitian onwards. **827** of AD 111 is illustrated in color on the frontcover. In the note on l. 1, the editor recognizes the name of the *praktor* in a number of other texts in the same hand where the name had been misread. The editor translates (similarly elsewhere) Ἐπειφ ἸΚΒ in l. 4 as “le 52 Ἐπειφ” (date of a payment made for Epeiph but 22 days after Epeiph 30). Following **834** is an excursus on the use of some (case-independent) form of ἄλλος for supplementary payments.

835 is in two parts: **a** is a fragmentary ostrakon from Strasbourg that may be the missing part of **b** = *PSI* 8.996 = *SB* 16.12765, now lost, recording a payment of ἄχυρον (“paille” or, as some now say, “chaff”) for year 4 of Antoninus. The join is at least remarkable. In the translation of **836** of 129 it should say “j’ai reçu pour (la contribution aux) vigies et autres (impôts).” In **845.4** and **5** of 138 (and elsewhere⁴) the editor adds μέρους to his resolution of one of the abbreviated fractions, but technically it was not written and should appear between <> or not at all. Here the editor sticks to the Greek in the translation (“le troisième cinquième” instead of 8/15).

867 of 173, for which an image is available online, is unfortunately heavily abraded, apparently much more so than when it was first published. Most of

⁴ In the index s.v. μέρος, 858 is a mistake for 860.

the Demotic has not yet been read. In the commentary to **884** of 181/2 (?) the editor discusses the meaning of γράστις for the *ala* in Koptos. **897** of 200 (?), **900** of 203, and **901** of 203/4 provide welcome relief from all the tax receipts: they are Demotic cessions of liturgical days (recently published as *P.Zauzich* 32). **902** of 205 is not a receipt either, but records in Greek the calculation of 12% interest on a sum of ca. 1600 drachmas.

The fifth chapter (pp. 333-385; 20 pages contain notes in small type) provides an annotated alphabetical prosopography of 90 known *praktores argyrikon* from Roman Thebes including an extremely useful chronological table (pp. 380-385) where one can look up the *praktores argyrikon* for the various divisions of Thebes for the period from AD 106/7 to 174/5 with only three that cannot be placed (yet). In many instances the compilation of this prosopography led the editor to a reconsideration of texts published elsewhere. He makes a large number⁵ of corrections affecting the identity and date of individual *praktores argyrikon*.

For all their brevity published ostraca usually attract a lengthy apparatus of corrections at the back of the various volumes of the *BL*. This may seem to detract somewhat from the value I claimed for ostraca earlier – how reliable are ostraca as textual sources, if so many corrections have been proposed to their texts? But so many corrections could be made because the ostraca come in series which mutually helped establish their texts. With the ongoing publication of similar ostraca older readings have been corrected; in many cases we have reached a point where no more corrections can be made. This appears to be the case for the ostraca discussed by the editor in the appendix to *O.Stras.* 2.

A lengthy bibliography and the usual indices follow. There is no index of subjects, but there is a detailed table of contents for the introduction (pp. 423-425). It is a safe bet that *O.Stras.* 2 will be frequently consulted by ostracologists and all those interested in Roman taxation – and with profit.

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⁵ If we go by the index of texts corrected (pp. 416-421), the editor proposes almost 500 corrections in the course of the volume.

Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (eds.), *Early Christian Manuscripts: Examples of Applied Method and Approach*. Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 5. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010. xx + 243 pages. ISBN 978-90-04-18265-3.

As historical artifacts and as witnesses to particular texts, ancient manuscripts have the potential to furnish historians with invaluable information about the distant past. Yet it is not always clear how we should go about incorporating this often overwhelming, perplexing, and fragmentary body of evidence into our historical work. What important corpora of ancient manuscripts survive, and how do we access them? To what extent are scholarly editions of fragmentary texts scientific, and to what extent are they interpretive? What might a responsible use of these materials look like? These and other questions are addressed in this wonderful collection edited by Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas.

Chapters 1-3 constitute a thematic cluster in this volume. In Chapter 1, Thomas Kraus characterizes the reconstruction of fragmentary manuscripts as a double-edged sword. The practice of reconstruction affords editors the opportunity to fill in the gaps of history by repairing broken words, phrases, and sentences and restoring them to meaningful units of thought; yet, reconstruction also creates the illusion of a reliable text where in reality there exists only editorial speculation and interpretation. In order to illustrate the interpretive nature of scholarly reconstructions, Kraus provides readers with three case studies: *P.Ryl.* 3.457 (P⁵²); *P.Mert.* 2.51 and *P.Vindob.* G 2325 (the “Fayûm Fragment”); and *P.Oxy.* 4.654 and a fragment of a shroud allegedly containing a portion of saying 5 from the *Gospel of Thomas*. The first case study exposes the assumptions underlying reconstructions of this early and important fragment of John; the second demonstrates the possibility of multiple, equally plausible reconstructions of the same fragment; and the third provides an example of an instance in which a subsequent discovery corroborated, or at least made likely, an earlier scholarly reconstruction. In conclusion, Kraus characterizes reconstruction as something “we cannot do without ...” (p. 36), but insists that reconstructions are scholarly interpretations and urges those who make use of reconstructed texts to maintain “a clear distinction between what is actually there and what is restored” (p. 37).

In chapter 2 Rachel Yuen-Collingridge continues the discussion of the possibilities and pitfalls of textual reconstruction by means of an analysis of scholarly treatments of *P.Egerton* 2, an unidentified literary papyrus replete with biblical allusions, which early editors attributed to an early Christian exegete, such as Theophilus of Antioch, Heracleon, or Irenaeus, and more

recently has been assigned almost unanimously to Origen. Yuen-Collingridge uses this shift in attribution to reveal the subjectivities of palaeographic dating and textual emendation. She also notes how the tendency to reconstruct fragmentary scriptural allusions from biblical texts as we know them serves to reproduce orthodox readings and “provide us with no detail we did not already know” (pp. 46-47). Yuen-Collingridge illustrates well the pitfalls of scholarly reconstruction: “By seeking out Origen, we make him materialize in the text” (p. 55); yet she also offers a way forward: “We should begin by concentrating not so much on what is missing from the picture, but on what survives. Rather than trying to make the text conform to what we already know, it may be better to let the papyri direct our investigation” (p. 55). She advocates an approach that resists the urge to assign a name to an unidentified fragment but instead dwells on the available evidence. In the case of *P.Egerton 2* Yuen-Collingridge prefers to focus on the function of the two-column codex in antiquity and to consider the clusters of biblical allusions in the text within the broader context of ancient patterns of scriptural citation.

In chapter 3 Paul Foster offers a new edition of *P.Oxy. 10.1224*, a fragmentary, gospel-like text which he assigns to 125-150 CE, or more conservatively to 90-300 CE. Foster’s detailed and thorough edition includes a description of the manuscript and its handwriting, transcription, translation, commentary, and brief discussion of the possible social setting of both the original composition and the fourth century codex preserving the text. One of the more useful features of his edition is the placement of an image of the manuscript alongside the transcription, reconstruction, and translation of each fragment. This allows readers to compare Foster’s judgements to the manuscript with ease. Only the inclusion of brackets indicating reconstructed text in the translations of fragment 2 would have improved the presentation. Foster shows an awareness of the possibilities and potential pitfalls of text editing. He acknowledges that reconstructions of fragmentary texts have the potential to mislead, and thus he repeatedly warns that his conclusions are “partial and tentative” (p. 80, again on p. 94). He also demonstrates how synoptic material can be used in reconstructions without overwhelming the unique content preserved in the fragments. For example, he concludes that *P.Oxy. 10.1224* is dependent upon Luke, but nevertheless entertains the possibility that the fourth century manuscript was read by “Gnostics,” or at least Christians with “very eclectic reading habits” (p. 93).

Lincoln Blumell offers a persuasive argument against the identification of a much discussed papyrus, *P.Oxy. 42.3057*, as a uniquely Christian letter in chapter 4. On the basis of features suggestive of a Christian context, the first editor of the text, Peter Parsons, mused tentatively that a Christian could have

written this letter. In the end, however, its early date (late first or early second century CE) led Parsons to conclude otherwise. More recently Orsolina Montevocchi and Ilaria Ramelli have argued more forcefully that certain features in the letter, such as the mention of a “crossed epistle,” a prayer for “concord and mutual affection” between the author and the recipient of the letter, a final scribal greeting in the Pauline style (cf. Romans 16:22), and the presence of the title *episkeptes* as an allusion to an ecclesiastical office, indicate that its author was likely a Christian. Blumell handles each of these arguments in turn by placing the letter within the broader context of Greco-Roman epistolary convention and scribal culture. The arguments of Montevocchi and Ramelli, Blumell claims, “tend to seize upon every aspect of this letter that ostensibly shares some Christian parallel, which is then exhibited as evidence of Christian authorship, and fail to adequately acknowledge that such features are not exclusively Christian” (p. 112). The essay left me convinced that the letter was not likely composed by a Christian, but unsure of its place among the non-Christian papyri. A short summary of the importance of the letter in its non-Christian context would have served as a nice conclusion to this essay.

The next three chapters each focus on manuscripts traditionally classified as amulets and attempt to bring clarity to this often ill-defined label. John Granger Cook considers the function of *P.Yale* 1.3 (P⁵⁰) in chapter 5. The papyrus presents portions of Acts (8:26-32 and 10:26-31) in an unusual format; now separated, the two leaves originally formed a bifolium and apparently constitute a complete textual unit. The curious format as well as creases in the manuscript from previous folds have suggested to some that P⁵⁰ originally functioned as an amulet. Cook argues against this theory by advancing and strengthening an existing alternative explanation of the function of P⁵⁰, namely that it served a missionary or homiletic function. He argues that folds in a papyrus do not necessarily mean that a biblical text is an amulet and cites examples of folded, non-amuletic papyri which suggest more generally that “the bearers of ... documents simply wanted to be able to carry them around, for whatever reason” (p. 120). Cook also appeals to early Christian authors who associate the two passages in Acts with homiletic or missionary activities. On the basis of this evidence he concludes: “Whether as a preacher’s notes for use in a worship service or as a Christian traveler’s notes for use in teaching, one can place P⁵⁰ in a setting in life that coheres quite well with the usage of texts in the patristic writers (and even the chroniclers)” (p. 125). In the end, Cook has presented a plausible explanation for the function of this intriguing biblical papyrus which serves as a welcome alternative to its former classification as an amulet – a classification that he correctly characterizes as “a sort of panacea,

when left in a quandary over what to do with \mathfrak{P}^{500} (p. 121). Cook provides a transcription, translation, and images of the text as well.

Don Barker also attempts to move away from the category of “amulet” in his treatment of \mathfrak{P}^{91} (P.Macquarie inv. 360 + P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1224), \mathfrak{P}^{23} (P.Oxy. 101229), and P.Oxy. 3.407. Barker shows some dissatisfaction with the category of “amulet” in general and seeks to classify these manuscripts with greater precision. On the basis of visible folding marks and an estimate that the leaf originally contained most or all of the narrative of Jesus’ healing of the lame beggar in Acts 3:1-10, he argues that once divorced from the codex, \mathfrak{P}^{91} may have been reused as a healing amulet. Next Barker discusses \mathfrak{P}^{23} , a leaf from a codex containing the Epistle of James. Since the leaf contains James 1:12 (“Blessed is a man who perseveres under trial; for once he has been approved, he will receive the crown of life ...”), Barker speculates: “Could it be that the owner of the folded page kept this leaf from the letter of James for comfort in a period of great difficulty as an *aide mémoire*?” (p. 138). Finally, he discusses P.Oxy. 3.407, which contains a prayer to God for mercy, forgiveness, and salvation which he prefers to characterize as a penitential prayer. Barker concludes by advocating a shift away from an overdependence upon the category of “amulet” in favor of more precise descriptions of personal use, such as *aide mémoire* and “penitential prayer.” In instances in which nothing more is known except that a text was used personally, he suggests using a more general term such as *Lieblingstexte* (“favorite texts”). While I certainly share Barker’s uneasiness with the category of “amulet,” I failed to grasp fully his alternative vision. I would have appreciated a clearer critique of the current scheme of classification and a more detailed discussion of alternative categories such as *aide mémoire* and *Lieblingstexte*, including examples of each beyond the few that are mentioned.

Theodore de Bruyn brings much needed clarity to the study of ancient amulets in his “preliminary list” of “papyri, parchments, ostraca, and tablets with biblical texts in Greek and used as amulets” (p. 145). De Bruyn prefaces his list with a discussion of the problems associated with identifying amulets and attempts to resolve this challenge by clearly defining what constitutes an amulet: “An amulet is here defined as an item that is believed to convey in and of itself, as well as in association with incantation and other actions, supernatural power from protective, beneficial, or antagonistic effect, and that is worn on one’s body or fixed, displayed, or deposited at some place” (p. 147). He also clearly spells out his criteria for deciding whether or not a text should be classified as an amulet. Since determining whether an item is an amulet is often a matter of degrees of certainty, de Bruyn assigns each text to one of four categories: certain, probable, possible, and unlikely. He presents his conclusions in four accessible charts, which also include salient details about

each manuscript, such as date, material, format, amuletic features, the biblical text it contains, etc. Table five provides readers with valuable bibliographic information for each manuscript included in the previous four tables. Anyone interested in biblical amulets in antiquity will find de Bruyn's "preliminary list" to be an invaluable resource.

In Chapter 8 Malcolm Choat and Rachel Yuen-Collingridge seek to accomplish two goals: (1) to provide a survey of early manuscripts of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and (2) to consider why the text was so popular among early Christians. They provide several helpful tools for the study of the manuscript tradition of the *Shepherd of Hermas* in Egypt before the time of Constantine. Table 1 includes a list of the Greek manuscripts from this period along with their date, provenance, material, format, and contents. Table 2 compares the number of manuscripts from the second through sixth centuries with the number of manuscripts of the canonical gospels and Origen from the same period. I would have appreciated a fourth column of totals for the second through sixth centuries: Hermas = 24; Mark = 13; Luke = 24; Matthew = 46; John = 52; Origen = 5. Table 3 ventures into the period after Constantine and provides a useful list of Greek and Coptic witnesses of the *Shepherd*. Table 4 records the amount of the *Shepherd* preserved in surviving Greek and Coptic papyrus witnesses. This final table is especially helpful for those interested in the various forms of the *Shepherd* in circulation in Antiquity. The chapter ends with a catalogue of (Greek) Hermas papyri from before the time of Constantine, which includes inventory numbers and detailed manuscript descriptions.

The chapter is less successful with respect to the second stated goal. The interest in the popularity of the *Shepherd* among early Christians represents a deliberate departure from the more traditional question of canonicity, a question that according to the authors "cannot withstand methodological scrutiny, as the concept of canonicity is debatable and elastic" (p. 191). However, Choat and Yuen-Collingridge do not entirely leave behind the question of canonicity when only a paragraph later they claim that early Christians did not regard the *Shepherd* as canonical since they generally agreed that its author did not live in the apostolic era (pp. 191-192 and 197). However, the fact that Origen remains one of the few early Christians to regard the *Shepherd* as less than inspired Scripture, but nevertheless is alone in assigning it to the apostolic period (by way of an association of the author of the *Shepherd* with the Hermas mentioned by Paul in Romans 16:14), indicates that Christians of the second and third centuries did not always hold their authoritative texts to the standards of apostolicity. Again, in the early period "canonicity is debatable and elastic." When they return again to the question of the popularity of the *Shepherd* among early Christians, Choat and Yuen-Collingridge adopt one well-known explanation

for the popularity of the text, that it was used for catechetical purposes, and bring the extant manuscript evidence to bear on the theory. Yet in the end the manuscript evidence contributes little to this theory since the authors conclude that “a text of Hermas used for catechetical instruction need not be marked in any way, and we will not be able to detect this via the format or production of the text” (p. 203). A more productive investigation into the popularity of the *Shepherd* might have first surveyed the manuscript evidence before turning to theories of the text’s popularity. For example, how might the fact that the *Shepherd* circulated in various forms in antiquity complicate the notion that the “intended audience moves from beginning to more advanced Christians (i.e. the baptized) as the work progresses” (p. 201). Does this progression hold true for the ancient manuscripts in their various configurations of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, or only for modern editions, which contain all five of the Visions, the Mandates, and the Similitudes in order? Also, what might the incorporation of portions of the *Shepherd* in a prayer or a treatise on prophecy (both briefly mentioned on p. 195) suggest about the use of the text in contexts other than catechetical? The wealth of manuscript evidence assembled by Choat and Yuen-Collingridge in this chapter paves the way for new and interesting answers to these questions and others like them.

The volume concludes with an essay by Stanley Porter comparing the Greek of the Babatha Archive and the Egyptian papyri with that of the New Testament. The Babatha Archive provides Porter with a particularly relevant body of comparison because it preserves a Semitic “linguistic interference” (p. 218) which may approximate the Semitic influence upon the Greek of some tractates within the New Testament. From his detailed comparison of several technical aspects of these corpora, such as conjunction frequency and preference, and thematized element ordering, Porter concludes that “despite the usually explainable variances, the fundamental grammatical structure of the three corpora seems to be very similar, and reflective of the same linguistic code or system – apparently that of the koine Greek of the Roman period” (p. 237).

Thomas Kraus and Tobias Nicklas should be congratulated for seeing this volume through to completion. Its value lies in the research resources, new editions, and reevaluations of familiar manuscripts it contains, and in many respects it attests the dawning of a healthy period of reflexivity and self-criticism that has come upon papyrology and manuscript studies more generally.

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Karlheinz Schüssler (ed.), *Biblia Coptica, die koptischen Bibeltexte*, Vol. 4, fasc. 3 (sa 673–720). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010. vii + 192 pages + 12 plates. ISBN 978-3-447-06417-0.

This fascicle is the eleventh installment in Karlheinz Schüssler's *Biblia Coptica* project. The editor has undertaken the Herculean labor of cataloging all published witnesses to the Sahidic Coptic Bible. With this latest contribution, Schüssler has itemized his 340th Sahidic manuscript (120 from the Old Testament and 220 from the New Testament). A brief introductory summary (pp. 1-2) describes the contents of this publication, which surveys 48 biblical manuscripts in Sahidic, sampling essentially the full spectrum of the New Testament from the gospels to the Pauline letters, and including manuscripts of James, 1 John and Revelation. According to the introduction, Schüssler has identified thirteen instances in which published manuscripts were in fact parts of other known codices, as well as two fragments which had been incorrectly identified with other manuscripts. Actually, earlier publications by Schmitz-Mink and Till deserve credit for these identifications (SMR sa 101, 105, 128, 146, 148, 165, 169, 305, 340; Till, ZNW 39, 83, 85). Notably, two tiny fragments appear here for the first time (sa 673.9.4 = Luke 4:9, 22; sa 699.16.2 = John 4:29, 34-35).

Each entry provides an extensive description of the text, format, codicology and history of each manuscript, including relevant bibliographic references. As further fragments emerge, these editions will doubtlessly be invaluable for identifying separated fragments. The descriptions of manuscripts offer valuable insight into the nature of the Coptic lectionary tradition as well as some of the other paratextual features present in the Coptic biblical tradition such as *kephalaia* division systems. Schüssler's own scholarly opinion appears throughout this edition, as with the notorious Bodleian papyrus fragment of John's gospel (sa 701^{div}). Although some have speculated that this manuscript could theoretically have omitted the final chapter of John's gospel,¹ Schüssler correctly recognizes that this fragment was never part of a codex, but instead was some sort of amulet. Perhaps, the most impressive feature of the edition is the inclusion of partial images of each manuscript (except for a Munich fragment of Acts, lost since 1974).

Too often, scholars have assigned dates to Coptic manuscripts based upon unfounded palaeographic conjectures. Within the context of the *Biblia Coptica*

¹ Gesa Schenke, "Das Erscheinen Jesu vor den Jüngern und der ungläubige Thomas: Johannes 20,19-31," in *Coptica – Gnostica – Manichaica. Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk*, ed. Louis Painchaud and Paul-Hubert Poirier (Louvain 2006) 893-904.

project, Schüssler has listed the dates given by other scholars and has offered his own dating assessments. In the register of manuscripts at the end of the fascicle, only Schüssler's dates appear. Oddly, in six instances the dates are marked with question marks. One wonders whether the editor considers the remaining dates as relatively secure or if the dates with question marks are especially speculative. Most datable Sahidic manuscripts survive from the White Monastery at Sohag and the Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Hamouli. These manuscripts contain colophons which describe their composition in the ninth to twelfth centuries and the ninth to tenth centuries respectively. The 48 manuscripts detailed in Schüssler's publication have been assigned dates between the fifth and twelfth/thirteenth centuries. In some instances, palaeographic dates are reliable, as is the case with the circa twelfth century Borgian leaves of Matthew (sa 691), whose script resembles that of late medieval Bohairic manuscripts. Yet, sa 707, a parchment manuscript of Acts from Paris, has been dated by Schüssler tentatively to the eleventh century, although the sloping pointed majuscule script could just as easily be centuries earlier, given that the manuscript is likely from among the White Monastery cache. Schüssler's dating, however, is not implausible. Likewise, a dozen scholars have assigned the Greek-Coptic bilingual sa 700 five different dates ranging from the fifth to sixth centuries to the ninth century with Schüssler choosing the seventh century. The best practice in these cases is to offer generous date ranges or simply to use a question mark with no date, perhaps mentioning in the introduction that most datable manuscripts have survived from the ninth to eleventh centuries.

This work concludes with five extensive indices to facilitate reference. An examination of the scripture index on p. 184 reveals two errors within a list of 134 citations. In referencing sa 689.6, Schüssler has not cited the presence of a "Präscript" as he has elsewhere on the same page ("Präscript" sa 687.3 and "Subscript" sa 678.15). Additionally, sa 690.1 should reference John 3:1-6 and not John 3:16. These minor errors notwithstanding, the editor should be applauded for his extensive work compiling these indices and for their overall trustworthiness.

Schüssler employs the siglum sa along with a manuscript number to reference individual manuscripts (e.g., sa 700). This is unfortunate, as Gerd Mink and Franz-Jürgen Schmitz use precisely the same siglum in their own catalogs of Sahidic gospel manuscripts.² The freely available system of Mink and

² Franz-Jürgen Schmitz and Gerd Mink (eds.), *Liste der koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: Die sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1986); Franz-Jürgen Schmitz and Gerd Mink (eds.), *Liste der koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: Die sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien*, vol. 2.1 (Berlin, 1989); Franz-Jürgen Schmitz and Gerd Mink, (eds.), *Liste der koptischen Handschriften des*

Schmitz remains the standard system of reference for the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster (INTF) under the current Coptologist, Siegfried Richter.³

Sahidic manuscripts of the gospels and Catholic epistles now have two sigla: a Schmitz-Mink-Richter (SMR) siglum ranging from 1-355 for the gospels and 601-646 for the Catholic Epistles, and a Schüssler siglum between 501 and 720. Therefore, the Barcelona gospels manuscript which is believed by some to be the oldest of the complete Sahidic gospels possesses the sigla sa 1 and sa 561. Perhaps the simplest way to prevent confusion would be for Schüssler to adopt a different siglum such as SA or sah. Because the Münster system was first and because of the INTF's long-term commitment to the biblical versions, scholars should prefer the SMR system. Septuagintalists, however, who are using the Coptic versions for Greek textual criticism may disagree, since the SMR system does not accommodate Sahidic Old Testament manuscripts.

This *Biblia Coptica* installment represents another step forward for Schüssler's project. The significance of his contribution to Coptology, textual criticism, and church history cannot be overstated, and his editions deserve a place in any serious research library interested in these subjects. Schüssler has organized his data in a manner which is as reliable and accessible as it is concise and informative. Hopefully, we will see the conclusion of the project within the next five years.

While an international syndicate of scholars led by Stephen Emmel has been industriously reconstructing the works of Shenoute, the Coptic Bible has received only sporadic attention. Frequently, scholars have fixated on the Nag Hammadi library and the *Gospel of Judas* instead of giving the abundant and diverse tradition of Coptic biblical manuscripts the attention it deserves. Many researchers have remained content with Horner's editions, even though they were created from fragmentary manuscripts and with little, if any, critical method. In his survey of the Sahidic biblical tradition, Paul Kahle impugned the accuracy of Horner's transcriptions.⁴ In the next few years, several scholars will produce new editions of John (Karlheinz Schüssler and Hans Förster),⁵

Neuen Testaments: Die sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien, vol. 2.2, (Berlin, 1991); Franz-Jürgen Schmitz (ed.), *Das Verhältnis der koptischen zur griechischen Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments: Dokumentation und Auswertung der Gesamtmaterialeien beider Traditionen zum Jakobusbrief und den beiden Petrusbriefen* (Berlin 2003).

³ <http://intf.uni-muenster.de/smr/>

⁴ Paul Eric Kahle (ed.), *Bala'izah: Coptic texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, vol. 1 (London, 1954) 14.

⁵ <http://www.iohannes.com/>

Mark (Anne Boud'hors),⁶ and Acts (Siegfried Richter), all of which will be freely available online and will weigh the copious manuscript evidence which has appeared since the editions of Horner. Hopefully, PhD students and junior scholars will recognize the great potential of the *Biblia Coptica* database for finally publishing the Coptic Bible in its entirety based upon the many fragmentary manuscripts which are now available.

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⁶ Already available: <http://www.safran.be/marcmultilingue/>

Roger S. Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East*. Sather Classical Lectures 69. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. xiv + 179 pages. ISBN 978-0-520-26702-2.

As *captatio*, Bagnall (henceforth B.) begins, naturally, with sex, in a first chapter (“Informal writing in a public place”) that is entertaining, at times fascinating: a tour through a rare closed-time-capsule site, a set of graffiti on plaster found in a sealed-off section of the basilica in the agora of Smyrna, securely dated c. AD 100-175. This is a gold mine of small nuggets: early use of iron gall ink (not previously thought to be used much until late antiquity); secure evidence of Christian graffiti from c. 125; a new example of a Greek five-by-five letter square (*tabula ansata*); examples of isopsephism (by which the letters in a name are added up as if they were Greek numbers; thus “Tyche” becomes 1,308). But the whole, it must be said, does not add up to a methodology or an argument: in the end, this elegant tour teaches us little more about levels of literacy in society than the indefinite conclusions on the value of graffiti promoted by William Harris in his standard volume *Ancient Literacy* (for B.’s attempt at a broader conclusion, see 25-26).

The light first chapter is, however, preliminary to the important problem the book gradually turns to address: that of methodology, namely how one can attack the documentary evidence for “everyday writing” without risking slippage into the sort of anecdotal history that fastens on interesting but potentially idiosyncratic individual instances. With chapter two (“The ubiquity of documents in the Hellenistic East”), B. addresses the problem directly, though his first strides are uneven. At the front of the chapter, B. with characteristic clear-headedness insists on the critical point that papyri are not recovered by “chance” but in specific circumstances that are predictive of the types of materials recovered. Texts found in rubbish heaps are garbage; those in troves are treasured; those in cartonnage are (mostly) official. Ptolemaic papyri are not found in dumps (due to moisture reaching the earlier, lower layers), thus almost all are from troves or cartonnage, and therefore in aggregate tend to include or not include certain types of documents. Harris’s *Ancient Literacy* is taken to task by way of prominent example: Harris’s statement that ephemeral private business papers are spotty in Ptolemaic papyri reflects the vagaries of survival, and his conclusions are therefore not cogent social history (35-36). This deep awareness of the “archaeology of papyrology” (28) is immensely important, an awareness we all think we have but which is under-analyzed and often neglected in the construction of historical narratives. The latter part of the chapter is less incisive in technique, constituting effectively a digest of evidence for broad-based use of literacy in the eastern Mediterranean; the focus

is on the finds of seals with papyrus-fiber imprints, some of which number in the thousands. I am sympathetic to the conclusion that there was a wide-spread use of writing around the Mediterranean from the fourth century BC, but in his methodology B. here is attempting to counter Harris on his own terms, using a strip-mining approach to accumulate the “facts” that prove his viewpoint. Unsympathetic readers will focus on the prevalence of such phrasing as (italics mine) “these documents *are argued to have been* private economic documents” (45), “the variety of seal types, *according to the excavator, suggests* that these were private legal acts” (47), “[seals] with impressions on their backs of papyrus, *probably* belonging to a mix of public and private documents” (48) – all without further substantiation. The raw numbers of seals is of course impressive, but B. does not entirely make the case that these documents were fashioned and used by people beyond scribes, government officials, bankers, and the like; the dividing line between public and private seems under-interrogated; nor is there much latitude given for local variation.

Chapter three (“Documenting slavery in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt”) is the point at which B.’s signature approach comes more clearly into play. Exploring further the consequences of the “archaeologically driven patterns of the survival of papyri,” B. makes an argument for “the very uneven survival of evidence for particular historical institutions and topics” (54) and chooses as an illustrative case the institution of slavery. The treatment is magisterial. For the evidence from the Roman period, B. poses the question, “Why does the documentation for slavery flourish in the Roman period only to decline in late antiquity?” (62). After discussion of the types of documentation available and of the types relevant to the question, B. takes us through an analysis of the find-spots for papyri and the character of documents surviving from those localities, gradually narrowing the focus to Oxyrhynchus, the evidence from which, as it turns out, “accounts for the *entire* Egypt-wide decline of that document type” in the fourth century (67). The evidence from Oxyrhynchus is then analyzed minutely: normalized frequencies rather than raw numbers of texts are examined and the decline is laid alongside the evidence for land leases as a comparandum. We are led by the hand through analysis of three possibilities, that the perceived decline (1) connects to underlying social realities, (2) reflects a change in documentation practices, or (3) is a matter of the archaeology. Along the way we are instructed on the changing ratio of public/private documents in Oxyrhynchus from the third to fifth centuries, on the changing nature of the types of documents relating to slave sales (from “public” clerical records to private agreements), and on how this relates to the prevalent but not entirely founded assumption that the Great Houses came to dominate Oxyrhynchus in late antiquity. The result is an approach to the

making of history that is of considerable nuance and sophistication, a different beast altogether than the anecdotal history or facile strip-mining for relevant facts that remains commonplace among ancient historians. Methodologically, this is an important demonstration of technique, and, again characteristically, B. does not shy from steering towards larger results than the issue of slavery itself. Here, he proffers some considerable skepticism about the dominance of large estates in late antique Oxyrhynchus, of obvious importance for our most basic conception of the social and economic history of the era.

This detailed treatment of the first three chapters will suffice to give the reader a sense of the critical challenge the book poses, and some of the creative ways by which B. tackles that challenge. The remaining chapters concentrate on broadening our view of the areas where papyri or ostraca shed light on “everyday writing,” as always with a probing analysis of the limitations of the evidence as well as the evidence itself. Chapter 4 (“Greek and Coptic in late antique Egypt”), after examination of the Coptic remains from a quantitative and categorical standpoint, focuses on what the Coptic letters can tell us in fine grain about routine bilingualism; chapter 5 (“Greek and Syriac in the Roman Near East”), again with close attention to the archaeology of the papyri, focuses on bilingualism from the point of view of the complex relationship between political power and everyday language; chapter 6 (“Writing on ostraca”) examines the role of ostraca as a ubiquitous writing material, again with emphasis on the archaeology of the medium and on the question of how most suitably to deploy quantitative methods. The larger aim of these later chapters is to suggest the variety of contexts in which writing represented an everyday event, thus underpinning B.’s conclusion that “even in a world where many people could not read or write, the use of written languages was not something restricted to a small, high-status group. Writing was everywhere, and a very wide range of people participated in the use of writing in some fashion. The desire to be able to express languages other than Greek and Latin in writing shows that social, economic, and cultural needs were not sufficiently met by quarantining writing to a limited range with a small class of literate mediators” (142). Although this is important, it strikes me as a late 1980s conclusion, one still at loggerheads with the work of William Harris. The methodological sophistication, at least in the core of the book, goes far beyond that, and the detailed contents of the book are considerably more suggestive and interesting for refinement of our view of ancient reading and writing.

The chapters were based on the ninety-second series of the Sather Classical Lectures (Berkeley 2005), yet have been reworked to read as a book rather than like a series of talks. The volume itself is well produced, a pleasure to hold in the hand, but one might well complain of the grayscale images, several of

which are poorly reproduced and hard to make out (figures 7, 8, 11 etc.), and of the lack of maps to help orient the non-specialist reader.

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Bernard Legras, *Les reclus grecs du Sarapieion de Memphis. Une enquête sur l'hellénisme égyptien*. Studia Hellenistica 49. Leuven: Peeters, 2011. xiii + 320 pages. ISBN 978-90-429-2361-4.

The *katochoi* of the Sarapieion in Memphis, especially the recluse Ptolemaios, son of Glaukias, and the twin girls Thages and Thaios, have aroused much interest among scholars and the general audience.¹ Legras (henceforth L.) provides us with a thorough survey of the subject, based on his *Habilitation* at the Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne. In this book he attempts to solve the problem of what the *katoche* is, where it originates, and how it functions in the Sarapieion temple complex in Memphis.

A short introduction presents the main source material of the study: the bilingual papyrus archive of the *katochoi*. It contains 119 Greek and Demotic texts from the second century BCE. They are mostly documentary, but also include an important “library” of literary pieces. Many texts are written by Apollonios and Ptolemaios, the sons of Glaukias, and an Egyptian *katochos* Harmais. Unfortunately the exact context of the find remains unknown, because the papyri were unearthed in clandestine excavations around 1815-1825. It is possible that they were discovered in the temple of Astarte, in which the recluses resided. The papyri were dispersed over different collections around Europe, but the study of these texts has been ongoing ever since they were found. The major publication which brought the (Greek) texts together was *UPZ 1* by U. Wilcken.² After the early work by E. Revillout in the 1880's, the progress with the Demotic texts has been slower.³

On the question of the identity and the nature of recluses, L. surveys the research history and presents the main theories (pp. 13-21). The theory of religious reclusion has been the most popular, with different points of emphasis. It may have been voluntary residence in the temple area, or a permanent retreat from the world as some sort of predecessor of Christian monasticism, or people dedicated to a deity and not allowed to leave the temple premises.

¹ The story has inspired at least one historical novel written by Georg Ebers, Egyptologist (*Die Schwestern*, 1880; translated in English, *The Sisters*, 1915). An educational film by TLC has also been prepared (Ancient Egyptians – The Twins' Tale, 2003, found, e.g., at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PDdWyijS8P0>).

² U. Wilcken (ed.), *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde) 1: Papyri aus Unterägypten* (Berlin-Leipzig 1927).

³ E. Revillout, “Le reclus du Sérapéum, sa bibliothèque et ses occupations mythiques, selon de nouveaux documents démotiques,” *RE* 1 (1880) 160, 163, and his subsequent articles in *RE* 2 (1882) 143-145, *RE* 5 (1888) 31-62. For more recent studies, see W. Clarysse, *Enchoria* 14 (1986) 43-49; W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe, *AncSoc* 36 (2006) 1-11.

The idea of *katochoi* being somehow “possessed” by a god fits within the religious theory, and the incubation and dream interpretation practiced in the Sarapieion can, to some extent, be connected with it. The second theory takes the *katoche* as imprisonment, for instance, for unpaid dues or desertion. The third theory combines *katoche* with *asylia*; refugees who come to the temple for their safety, and stay there serving the god. The fourth suggestion is a sort of slavery, and lastly, there are more detailed theories often combining some of the above.

L. wants to focus on the juridical and cultural status of the recluses, especially the differences and tensions between “Greek” and “Egyptian” culture, if there were any. After all, Ptolemaios, son of Glaukias, a Macedonian by descent, is widely known among ancient historians as the person who claims that certain named Egyptians attacked him in the temple area *because* he was Greek (παρὰ τὸ Ἕλληνα εἶναι). **L. does not go into this at all in the introduction**, but he examines the case carefully later on, noting that Ptolemaios is merely using his Greekness to gain sympathy, the reason for the attack being most likely business related.

The Introduction is followed by the bibliography (pp. 24-57). The study itself is divided into three parts. The first (Chapters 1 and 2) covers evidence of the recluses in the Hellenistic and Roman world; outside Egypt in the first chapter, and in Egypt but outside Memphis in the second. The second part (Chapters 3-5) of the book concentrates on the recluses and refugees in the Memphis Sarapieion, including their social and economic activities. In the third part (Chapters 6-8), L. goes into the texts, lives, and religion of the *katochoi* in more detail. There is some overlap of discussion in parts 2 and 3, and the thematic organization of the discussion has led to the unfortunate “splitting” of documents used as evidence; when a text is not discussed as a whole, we lose some of the context (which may or may not follow later; it is difficult for the reader to keep track of all the texts).

In Chapter 1, L. surveys the evidence we have of the same institution elsewhere, using the term κάτοχος with the verb it derives from, κατέχω, in their different forms (for example, ἐγκατοχήσας) as the starting point. They appear in a few inscriptions from Asia Minor. A text from Priene predates the Memphis Sarapieion archive, but the gods worshipped there are Sarapis and Isis, thus a Hellenistic Egyptian influence can be detected. Another text from Smyrna is later, early third century CE. The deities included are Sarapis and (locally important) Nemesis. The inscriptions from the temple of Zeus in Baitokaike, also from the imperial period, mention *katochoi*, and from Baalbek we have a text where *katochoi* are connected to Aphrodite.

These inscriptions have given rise to as many similar theories on the nature of the *katoche* as the Egyptian texts. L. is able to show that also in Bait-oikaike Egyptian influence can be found; thus we can speak of the spreading of a Hellenistic Egyptian institution. The right of *asylia* is present, but the refugees cannot be identified with the recluses. The recluses seem to have enjoyed quite high social status.

In Chapter 2, L. presents the Egyptian evidence outside Memphis. It is scarce, and L. argues that some texts which have been used as evidence need to be discarded. For example, a private letter concerning an oracle consultation in the 1st century BCE (*P.Tebt.* 2.284), does not have any reference to *katochoi* nor to a temple. A letter of recommendation from the Zenon archive (*BGU* 6.1297, 248 BCE), on the other hand, mentions a certain Nikandros being in *katoche*, but that clearly refers to imprisonment and proves the polysemy of the term, at least in the early Ptolemaic period.

The only certain reference to the *katochoi* outside Memphis are graffitos from Abydos, which mention the names of three men who are *enkatochoi*. The texts are *proskynemata* connected to oracle consultations, one from Sarapis and one from Bes. The dating is not sure; the oracle of Sarapis was probably there in the Ptolemaic period, but the one of Bes may have begun only in the Roman period. We do not know, however, if there was incubation and interpretation of dreams connected with these oracles. And these three men possibly came to this temple as pilgrims and did not necessarily have any connection with the interpretation of the oracles.

Some (astrological) literary sources from the second to the sixth century CE comment on *enkatochoi* in a negative light. They are mentioned in connection with terms such as “effeminate, craving for dance”; or they are said to be smelly, ragged, and antisocial; they are connected with dream interpreters or prophets. L. points out that very similar name calling has been used of the Christian stray monks, *apotaktikoi* (a term used only since the fourth century), and that these definitions do not match the image we get of the Memphis *katochoi*. We have no knowledge of Ptolemaios taking money for dream interpretation or that the *katochoi* would have been poorly clothed.

The community of *therapeutai* on lake Mareotis near Alexandria has sometimes been compared with the Memphite recluses. The description comes from (Pseudo-)Philo in the first century CE, and Eusebius in the fourth century compares them to Christian monastics. As L. points out, we do not know whether Philo described a real existing community or a fictional one. According to L., the differences between the Memphite recluses and the *therapeutai* of lake Mareotis are numerous.

As the non-Memphite Egyptian sources are very thinly spread, the archive of the *katochoi* becomes even more important.

In the second part of the book, L. turns to the Memphis Sarapieion itself. In chapter 3, he discusses thoroughly the right of *asylia*. It is possible that this existed already before the Ptolemaic period: the Chronicle of Peteise (*PRyl.dem.* 9) includes the Demotic equivalent of *asylia*. However, the first certain evidence of *asylia* in the Sarapieion are three petitions in the archive of the *katochoi*, although the word itself is not mentioned. The *peribolos* of the temple marked off the secure area. The subject of the complaints is robbery by Egyptian *pastophoroi* in the temple of Astarte (also the adyton) and violence against the *katochoi* Ptolemaios and Harmais in the year 163 BCE. Ptolemaios is sending his representative with the petition, since he cannot leave the area “because he is in *katoche*.”

According to parallels from Messene and Samos, it seems that the priests had the power to decide who was eligible to *asylia*. The texts from the Sarapieion also suggest that slaves or capital offenders had no right of *asylia*. The most famous seekers of sanctuary in Memphis are, of course, the twins, Thages and Thaous, and a third girl, probably their sister, Tathemis. They had been thrown out of their house by their mother, who allegedly had tried to have their father killed by her Greek lover. The father soon after died, and the mother did not carry out proper funerary rites for him and took possession of his property. The girls went for shelter to the Sarapieion, where a friend of their father, Ptolemaios, received them and took care of them. He also wrote petitions on their behalf. The twins were also conveniently accepted to perform important cult acts in the temple when the sacred Apis bull died. A pair of twins was needed to act as the goddesses Isis and Nephthys for this, and this was probably the cause for overlooking the normal hereditary order of priesthood.

A short chapter 4 is dedicated to the therapists of the Sarapieion. There are men called *therapeutai*, e.g., Diphilos and Nikanor, who are able to leave the temple area, unlike the *katochoi*. The verb *therapeuein* is used more freely, for example, for the twins' activities in performing the cult act. The meaning of the word is obviously general, referring to service in a religious festival, service of a god (cf. Latin *cultor*). L. notes that the twins or the *katochoi* in Memphis are never called *therapeutai*.

In Chapter 5, L. discusses the social and economic activities of the recluses, concentrating on how they earned their livelihood. He finds no grounds, for example, for the theories of Harmais taking advantage of Tathemis as a prostitute. Ptolemaios' twenty years of being a *katochos* had several phases. In the beginning, it is likely that he was supported by his family; his father was a soldier and *syngenes* of the king, having a *kleros* in the village of Psychis. L.

discusses also the economic difficulties of the time in some detail. After their father died, Ptolemaios' adolescent brother Apollonios came to the Sarapieion, too, and quickly learned to write there. Ptolemaios started a textile business, taking care also of the clothing needs of the temple, at least for some time. In that way, he earned a modest living. Apollonios, however, after his adolescent years, was a recluse only for a short time, and Ptolemaios arranged, through petitions to the king, that he was taken to the army in Memphis. Apollonios earned more than his brother there, but he did not last long as a soldier, and later on he became an informer of the police.

Part 3 of the book focuses on culture and religion. The archive of the *katochoi* includes a significant amount of literary material in both languages. L. discusses this library, an intentional collection of texts, in Chapter 6. Some of the texts are written by the recluses and can be regarded as educational material (writing, copying, dictating, reading). They consist of excerpts of classical tragedies (Euripides and Aeschylus), New Comedy, a few epigrams, all reflecting (Classical) Hellenistic education. We learn that Ptolemaios' writing skills are not that fluent (including some probable Egyptian influence), but Apollonios achieved a more advanced level. He also wrote the Greek version of the Dream of Nectanebo, of which Demotic versions also circulated. The archive also contains two literary pieces that were re-used. On the *verso* side of a philosophical treatise Ptolemaios had written a collection of dreams. The astronomical *Ars Eudoxi* (the earliest illustrated Greek manuscript) has several documentary texts on its *verso*. L. is very careful about making assumptions about the audience of these texts; he states that we have no evidence that they were read by the recluses, because they do not contain any marginalia, for example.

Chapter 7 contains an interesting discussion on the linguistic skills of the sons of Glaukias. However, L. uses the term diglossia without defining it. Diglossia has the specific meaning of the alternate use of two languages or dialects within the same community in functionally separated situations, for example the High variety in official and educational context and the Low variety in everyday speech.⁴ If, by using the term diglossia, L. hints that the spoken language between Ptolemaios and Apollonios was Egyptian and that they only used Greek when addressing Greek officials and the king (not true, given that the dreams are also written in Greek), he should have explicated that more clearly. We do know that Ptolemaios, living in the temple area for twenty years and dealing with mostly Egyptian people, most certainly spoke Egyptian. So did obviously Apollonios, too, as we even have a dream descrip-

⁴ See, for example, P. Daltas, "The Concept of Diglossia from Ferguson to Fishman to Fasold," in I. Philippaki-Warbuton, K. Nicolaidis, M. Sifianou (eds.), *Themes in Greek Linguistics* (Amsterdam 1994) 341-348.

tion were he has an Egyptian name: “Apollonios speaks Greek, Peteharempi speaks Egyptian.”⁵ The broader term bilingualism would have been suitable describing the situation of the brothers. And, as L. reminds us in the conclusion, we do not know anything about their mother.

I believe that L. dismisses the possibility that Apollonios could also *write* Egyptian too lightly.⁶ There are some Demotic wisdom sayings, for example, whose writer is not known (it could have been the recluse Harmais). But L. thinks that it is unlikely that Apollonios learned to write Demotic, because it was such a difficult script and because the Demotic texts in the archive were written with a brush instead of a *kalamos*. Demotic indeed is a difficult script, but Egyptian scribes mastered it. Apollonios came to the Sarapieion as a young boy and learned to write Greek easily. For an adolescent who shows enthusiasm towards letters, Demotic would not have been a “too difficult” task, especially if he already mastered the language and if somebody was willing to teach him. As for the writing implement, why would he have written Demotic clumsily with a *kalamos* just because he was of Greek descent, if he had learned to write Demotic in a temple where most likely traditional Egyptian scribal training was carried out?

In the last chapter L. discusses the religious environment where the recluses lived “under the shadow of the pyramids.” It was marked by a diversity of cults and divinities: Sarapis and Isis, the royal cult of Ptolemies, as well as the 12 gods of Herakleopolis. The recluses lived in the shrine of the originally Phoenician goddess Astarte. The god Ammon appeared to Ptolemaios in his dream. These dreams often had religious connotations. L. concludes that the religious and cultural environment in the Sarapieion was stratified through history, and multiple layers were visible there.

All in all, the study of Legras provides us with a sharp picture of the lives of the recluses in the Memphis Sarapieion in light of the archive of the *katochoi*. He also provides a thorough discussion of the wider historical context. It becomes clear that the recluses cannot be taken as mere refugees, even though the right of *asylia* is ever present in the Sarapieion. The recluses could be Greek or Egyptian. They lived modestly within the temple area, serving the gods in one way or another.

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⁵ P.dem. Bologna 3173, where the Egyptian name is *Pj-tj-Ḥr-Pj*.

⁶ L. was of the opposite opinion in his “La diglossie des *enkatokhoi* grecs du Sarapieion de Memphis (II^e siècle av. n. è.),” *Ktèma* 32 (2007) 251–264. For a recent discussion on bilingualism in this archive, see also L. Prada, *ZPE* 184 (2013) 85–101.

Robert W. Daniel, *Architectural Orientation in the Papyri*. Papyrologica Coloniensia 34. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2010. xxii + 240 pages. ISBN 978-3-506-77007-3.

This book concerns the vocabulary of house orientation in the papyri and its implications for the architecture of houses in Graeco-Roman Egypt, a subject that has never been treated in any depth. In the course of this investigation, it reinterprets several key architectural terms (αὐλή, αἶθριον, ἐξέδρα, οἰκόπεδον) in the Greek papyri of Egypt and the Near East¹ and illuminates some interesting features of houses in Graeco-Roman Egypt like rooftop pantries and ventilation; and it brings into the discussion a wide array of ancillary evidence besides papyri, including literary and epigraphic texts, cross-historical data from the Pharaonic, medieval, and modern periods, and to a lesser extent archaeology.

After an introduction setting out the main theses of the book and its structure, Daniel (henceforth D.) opens with a brief chapter on *P.Ness. 22* (566 CE), a division of property between two siblings from Nessana in Palestine, which he uses as a case study to introduce the main themes of the book, namely architectural orientation and the meaning of certain architectural terms. D. shows the difficulties raised by the editor's interpretation of the participle διακεκριμένος (< διακρίνω) as "detached" in the description of the rooms of the property, but he suspends discussion of its actual meaning to Chapter 4, claiming that it is necessary to understand first the architectural unit to which it relates. The editor's understanding of the expression τὸ μεσαύλιον τῆς αὐλῆς as "the vestibule of the courtyard" is criticized for attributing an unattested sense to μεσαύλιον, which ought to mean simply "courtyard." In order to avoid the nonsensical translation "the courtyard of the courtyard," D. proposes that αὐλή has here the secondary sense of "a house-property consisting of a house itself as well as the courtyard around which it was built" (p. 6), so that the above phrase should mean "the courtyard of the house-property."

The next three chapters (2-4) discuss in greater detail the meaning of the term αὐλή in texts from the Near East and Egypt. Chapter 2 marshals evidence supporting the equation αὐλή = house(-property) in the non-Egyptian evidence, where this meaning sits sometimes side by side with the sense of "courtyard." The investigation covers an impressively wide range of sources, including Dionysius of Halicarnassus (who seems to use the term specifically for Latin *villa*), puns in Stoic discussions of verbal ambiguity, inscriptions from

¹ The last systematic investigation of such terms is the oft-cited book of G. Husson, *Oikia. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (Paris 1983).

Caria, the still unpublished P.Petra inv. 10² (where αὐλή is equivalent to Arabic *dara(t)*, “house including courtyard”), the sixth-century treatise on building regulations *et alia* ascribed to Julian of Ascalon, papyri from the early second-century CE Babatha Archive from Palestine (esp. *P.Yadin* 19-20, vis-à-vis which it is suggested that the word is a translation of the similarly ambiguous Aramaic word *darah*), and the parable of the strong man in Luke 11:21-22. In some of these texts, a house (or living quarters *vel sim.*) is described as being located *within* an αὐλή, which cannot make sense if one understands the word in the usual sense of “courtyard.” In contrast, as Chapter 3 goes on to show, Egyptian papyri always appear to use the word in the latter sense and only rarely in the sense of “house-property.” The chapter consists of a series of short critical notes, which scrutinize supposed examples to the contrary and convincingly demonstrate that the word is in fact used more conventionally in the sense of “courtyard” or (in one debatable case) of “enclosure for animals” (*P.Münch.* 1.13).³ αὐλή is allowed to denote house-property in general in only three documents, which D. sees as “exceptions that confirm the rule” (*P.Marmarica*: not from Egypt proper; *P.Abinn.* 63: perhaps influenced by the legal language of Constantinople; *P.Lond.* 3.887 – from the mid-third century BCE).

The brief Chapter 4 returns to the sense of διακεκρίμενος πρὸς followed by a cardinal point in *P.Ness.* 22, which is now interpreted as designating an opening in a house (e.g. through doors) towards a certain direction, a usage comparable to διεσταλμένος πρὸς in P.Petra inv. 10 and the similar terms found in the Egyptian papyri discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 5, referred to throughout the book as the “Survey,” is not a regular chapter, but a geographically arranged list of all passages in the papyri (mostly leases and sales) that contain terms pertaining to architectural orientation, namely the verbs ἀνοίγνυμι, (προσ)βάλλω, βλέπω, νεύω, often in participial form and followed by εἰς/ἐπὶ + cardinal point. Virtually all of the relevant papyri date from Egypt’s Byzantine period (4th-7th centuries) and, because of their preservation history, they and the properties they describe relate predominantly to urban centers rather than villages. The list is peppered with corrections and critical remarks in the footnotes, often checked against the original or photos by D. or others (longer discussions of some problematic passages are deferred to Appendix 2).

Chapters 6-8 analyze the material in the Survey under various headings. Chapter 6 examines the frequency, differences in meaning, geographical distri-

² Just recently (August 2013) published as *P.Petra* 2.17.

³ For the use of αὐλή in Homer to designate enclosures for animals (cf. p. 27, n. 12), one may also consult M.O. Knox, “Huts and Farm Buildings in Homer,” *CQ* 21 (1971) 27-31.

bution, and the socio-historical significance of the above terms. ἀνοίγνυμι and νεύω are the most commonly occurring words for describing the orientation of a house or a part thereof; they are synonymous and more specifically indicate the direction of the main opening (entrance and exit) of a structure, typically via a doorway or gate. ἀνοίγνυμι dominates in Arsinoe and Heracleopolis, while νεύω is prevalent further south (Oxyrhynchus, Hermopolis, Antinoopolis, Aphrodito, Syene); the less commonly attested (προσ)βάλλω is a peculiarity of Heracleopolis and has the same meaning. The even rarer βλέπω, however, seems to have a different sense and indicates more specifically openings or “views” through windows. In a final all-too-brief section – probably the book’s most speculative and intriguing point – D. suggests that the relatively sudden emergence of this vocabulary of house orientation in legal documents of the Byzantine period is “a response to a need to identify parts of larger houses at a time when members of the upper classes found it increasingly necessary to subdivide these houses and to rent out rooms” (p. 94). Others, however, may prefer to see these new indications of house and room orientation as simply part of the period’s wider changes in legal vocabulary, without a specific socio-historical basis.

Chapter 7 subjects the cardinal directions towards which houses are oriented to a statistical analysis (strictly speaking, the orientation is that of the main entrance-and-exit, but D. argues that the general orientation of the house as a whole will often have been the same). The interesting result – never formulated before, it seems – is that there was a marked preference for orienting houses towards the north. This can be explained by the desire to expose the house to the cooling air of northerly winds in the long, hot summers of Egypt; the practice is paralleled in the archaeological evidence of the Pharaonic period (especially in Tell al-Amarna), in the houses of Dura Europos in Mesopotamia, in an Arabic literary text relating to 13th century Egypt, and in modern Egypt. The rest of the chapter considers some methodological issues raised by the data and its exploitation. When these are taken into account, they tend to deflate the ratio of north : south orientation from 7 : 1 to 4.5 : 1, but the ratio remains significant.

Chapter 8 investigates the orientation of rooms within houses. As is to be expected, there is a more even distribution of cardinal orientations, but some particular types of rooms, e.g. συμπόσια (dining rooms) and κέλλαι (rooms for the storage of food and drink, which would have benefited from ventilation), did tend to face north towards the courtyard, whereas τόποι (small non-descript rooms) were mostly oriented towards the south.

Chapter 9 briefly discusses the evidence for pantries or “bread-coolers,” for which a variety of words were used following regional preferences (ἀρτοθήκη

in Heracleopolis and Aphrodito, ἀρτοψύγιον in Oxyrhynchus, ἀρτοθέσιον in Arsinoe). These structures were often located on the roof (δῶμα) for ventilation purposes. D. suggests that such rooftop pantries were used principally at night and in the early morning, when the terrace roof is the coolest part of the house, and were often made of palm fronds, which would have made them more permeable to air and less stressful on the roof.

Chapter 10 is arguably the most important of the book. In it D. revisits the word αἶθριον (and related αἶθρα/αἶθρος), which occurs with great frequency in leases and sales of houses of the Roman and Byzantine periods, but whose meaning has not been elucidated satisfactorily. While it was already shown in the early 20th century that the term could not be a Hellenization of the Latin word *atrium*, its traditional understanding as a “Lichthof” or inner courtyard open to the sky is problematic. Although in non-Egyptian sources αἶθριον often seems to be synonymous with αὐλή in the sense of “courtyard,” in the papyri from Egypt it is clearly a separate element, since it is often mentioned alongside a courtyard in formulas like οἰκία καὶ αἶθριον καὶ αὐλή *vel sim*. After investigating the word’s etymology and relation to the synonymous words αἶθρα/αἶθρος, which denoted originally “coolness” or “cool air,” D. defines the αἶθριον as “a covered or partly covered hall that was ventilated by the prevailing north winds and served to cool adjoining rooms” (p. 128). He envisages two possible ways in which the αἶθριον might have fulfilled this ventilating function: either it was covered by a flat roof and let air through clerestory windows set above the level of the surrounding roofs, or it was surmounted by a north-oriented, half-open shed that operated as a “wind-catcher.” For the latter possibility, D. presents a rich list of passages and illustrations of the device from both the Islamic period (when it was called *malqaf*) and Pharaonic times, arguing that it is unlikely to have been discontinued in the Graeco-Roman period.

Chapter 11 questions the traditional understanding of ἐξέδρα in the papyri as a house unit open on one side, pointing out a handful of examples in which the term seems to refer to a closable structure or one “partitioned off by secondary construction” (on p. 148 n. 2, *BGU* 1.154 and *P.Tebt.* 2.322 are given as examples of ἐξέδρα designating an “outbuilding used in connection with animal husbandry or agriculture,” but this is completely speculative and without any basis in the texts).

In Chapter 12 the author expands on an article he has written recently,⁴ in which he argues that the word οἰκόπεδον in Greek prose always means “house-property” (that is, the site of a house) or “ruins of a house” rather than

⁴ R. Daniel, “Οἰκόπεδα in Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus and Elsewhere,” *ZPE* 159 (2007) 61-69.

“the house itself” or “building” (as in LSJ s.v. οἰκόπεδον 2). Here he shows that plural οἰκόπεδα also usually refers to a multipart *single* house-property in the papyri, contrary to the understanding of the term as “buildings” *vel sim.* by many editors.

This book makes an important contribution to papyrology and will be an indispensable reference for editors of papyri relating to house-property, especially legal documents of the Byzantine period. It should also be of keen interest to Greek lexicographers and philologists, social historians of Late Antiquity, and archaeologists. While the work may seem rather technical for the non-papyrologist, D. has endeavored to take as little as possible for granted and to contextualize documents briefly, and he provides convenient summaries at the end of long sections and chapters. Although readers or experts of particular groups of papyri may find some interpretations of individual texts questionable and quibble with points of detail or small inaccuracies,⁵ the overall theses of D. are well supported, sensibly argued, and convincing.

The author's experience with Near-Eastern papyri has allowed him to engage in careful and illuminating comparisons of the evidence from Egypt with that from outside it. One misses a confrontation of the papyrological material with the archaeological evidence from Graeco-Roman Egypt, especially given the substantial amount of work done recently on some towns of the Fayyum and the Oases. For example, it would be interesting to consider whether one can identify remains of αἰθρία (as interpreted by D.) in the archaeological record, even if the hypothetical wind-catchers themselves naturally did not survive, or whether the predominantly northward direction of houses identified by the author is verifiable on the ground. But this is a task D. explicitly leaves to other scholars (cf. p. xiv) and is equally beyond the competence of this reviewer. D.'s study, nevertheless, provides a wealth of painstakingly analyzed documentary material for archaeologists (or the growing breed of “archaeologist-papyrologists”) to correlate with their findings.

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⁵ E.g. p. 27: in *P.Münch.* 1.13 the *adiutor* Flavius Lazaros (l. 77) is not the person “who drew up” the document, but only the *hypographeus* of the illiterate sellers in their subscription. From a purely visual point of view, the book could have benefited from closer proofreading in some portions, and the clippings of images of papyri in Appendix 2 are not always of adequate quality.

Michael Sabottka, *Das Serapeum in Alexandria. Untersuchungen zur Architektur und Baugeschichte des Heiligtums von der frühen ptolemäischen Zeit bis zur Zerstörung 391 n. Chr.* Études alexandrines 15. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2008. xxvi + 520 pages. ISBN 978-2-7247-0471-6.

In 1895, after centuries of spoliation and decay, the Serapeum of Alexandria, once one of the most splendid temples in the Mediterranean, was described by G. Botti, the director of the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, as “a rocky plateau, surrendered to stray dogs and tour guides of ill fame.”¹ Since then, several excavation projects have been carried out to lay bare the scanty remains of this famous site, each with its own limitations. The first major excavations, by Botti himself (1894-1898), were hardly systematic, while the following project, in the context of the so-called “Sieglin Expedition” (1898-1902), did include a detailed recording of the evidence and the creation of an important map, but remained unpublished. The fullest archaeological exploration of the site was done by A. Rowe during the Second World War (1942-1945), in which several important discoveries were made, such as the foundation plaques of the Serapeum dedicated by Ptolemy III. Some of the areas outside of the temple precinct, mainly to its west, were also explored. However, Rowe did not have access to certain areas that were excavated by the German mission, so that its publication is indispensable for a complete view of the building phases of the Serapeum.

In his 1985 dissertation at the Technische Universität of Berlin, Michael Sabottka (henceforth S.) fulfilled this *desideratum* by collecting all the relevant Sieglin Expedition materials and incorporating them in an architectural study of the Serapeum. Unfortunately, the dissertation was never reworked into a monograph and was, since 1989, only accessible on microfiche. The Centre d'Études Alexandrines has now made this important work available to a wider audience by including it in its series. The book is a basically unaltered version of the 1985 dissertation. This means that the exhaustive recent treatment of the Serapeum by Judith McKenzie (and her team), which – partly building on the work of Sabottka – has led to a refinement of the different building phases

¹ G. Botti, *L'acropole d'Alexandrie et le Sérapéum d'après Aphtonius et les fouilles* (Alexandria 1895) 3: “[u]n plateau rocailleux, abandonné à des chiens errants et à des cicerones mal famés.” The passage from which this sentence derives is provocatively put below the well-known passage from Ammianus Marcellinus (22.16.12), calling the Serapeum second in importance only to the Capitolium in Rome, at the start of Sabottka's 1985 preface (p. xix).

of the temple (chiefly Ptolemaic and Roman) and to a clearer picture of what happened to the temple terrain after its “destruction” at the end of the fourth century CE, could not be taken into account.² Thus, despite its publication date, the book under review should be consulted in conjunction with the more recent and up-to-date reconstruction by McKenzie.³

The first part (“Forschung,” pp. 1-40) contains an interesting chapter on the excavation history of the site. Based on extensive archival research, especially the detailed description of the circumstances surrounding the Sieglin Expedition (pp. 11-21), it offers some extremely valuable information. We learn, for example, that the delay of the second campaign (1900-1901, 1902) under the direction of father and son Thiersch was in part due to resistance from Botti, who regarded the site as his (pp. 14-15), and that the publication of the excavations – planned as the third volume in the Sieglin Expedition series (*Expedition Ernst von Sieglin – Ausgrabungen in Alexandria*) – had come to such an advanced point that proof prints had already been made of several plates (p. 19). The current location of the Sieglin materials used by S. for this study is described in a useful appendix (pp. 333-337). The chapter ends with an overview of scholarship on the Serapeum, which, as stated above, has not been updated for the present publication and thus reflects the situation of 1985.⁴ The second chapter briefly describes the location of the Serapeum within the ancient city.

In the second part (“Architektur”), which forms the lion’s share of the book (pp. 41-293), the architecture is discussed in detail and illustrated with numerous figures and plates.⁵ Chapter three gives an overview of the traces of the

² J.S. McKenzie, “Glimpsing Alexandria from Archaeological Evidence,” *JRA* 16 (2003) 35-63 at 50-56; J.S. McKenzie, S. Gibson, and A.T. Reyes, “Reconstructing the Serapeum in Alexandria from the Archaeological Evidence,” *JRS* 94 (2004) 73-121; J.S. McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, c. 300 BC to AD 700* (New Haven 2007) esp. 52-55, 195-203, 244-247.

³ In her review of S.’s book, J.S. McKenzie, “The Serapeum of Alexandria: Its Destruction and Reconstruction,” *JRA* 22 (2009) 772-782, conveniently summarizes the main differences between S.’s reconstruction and her own.

⁴ E.g. for written sources on the Serapeum (p. 26, again on p. 311), he only refers to A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell’Egitto greco-romano* 1.1 (Cairo 1935) 140-146, s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια (Σαραπίον), not to the *Supplementi* published by S. Daris from 1988 on. Among important recent studies on Alexandria, besides the ones by McKenzie, can be mentioned T. Derda, T. Markiewicz, and E. Wipszycka (eds.), *Alexandria: Auditoria of Kom El-Dikka and Late Antique Education* (Warsaw 2007); E. Watts, *Riot in Alexandria: Tradition and Group Dynamics in Late Antique Pagan and Christian Communities* (Berkeley 2010).

⁵ E.g. the spectacular photographs of the underground passages on Pls. 88-99.

buildings predating the Serapeum of Ptolemy III, which include a room with a mosaic floor and altar dedicated to Ptolemy II that was later covered over. With chapters four and five, we move to the two main phases, Ptolemaic and Roman. Each part of the temple complex is carefully described and followed by a reconstruction, in which especially the Ptolemaic remains receive a detailed treatment (with the resulting reconstruction of the whole temple complex, Fig. 28). For example, for the Ptolemaic temple of Serapis (pp. 156-181) S. goes over all the options for its ground plan by comparing them with other Greek temples and comes to the conclusion that the temple probably measured a maximum of ca. 12 x 21 m, with either two or four columns of 9-11 m height at the front in the Ionic order.⁶ In comparison, he spends much less attention to the Roman temple of Serapis (pp. 267-273), which enclosed the Ptolemaic *naos* and which he reconstructs as measuring ca. 20 x 30 m, with 6 columns on three sides and a closed back wall.⁷

The third and final part, on the sources ("Quellen"; pp. 295-331), is not an exhaustive overview of the sources mentioning the Serapeum, but rather discusses those sources that provide information about the architecture of the temple complex. Chapter six deals with coins containing representations of the Serapeum, in which S. emphasizes their limited use for reconstructing the architecture of the temple.⁸ In chapter seven, S. provides text, translation and detailed commentary from an architectural perspective on the two fourth-century CE sources that contain detailed descriptions of the Serapeum, Aphthonius and Rufinus.⁹ S. concludes this chapter with a brief overview of the "History of the Serapeum in the imperial period" (pp. 328-331), which is out of date particularly with respect to the "destruction" of the Serapeum in the early 390s.¹⁰ An impressive number of almost 200 pages of appendices, tables, figures and plates follow.

⁶ S. seems to have a preference for four columns at the front (p. 172, Fig. 39a), which is in line with the reconstruction by McKenzie, Gibson and Reyes (n. 2) 86-87 (Fig. 6) on the basis of fuller evidence, though they propose a mixed order for the temple.

⁷ The reconstruction by McKenzie, Gibson and Reyes (n. 2) 92 (Fig. 11) is essentially the same as the one by S. (see his Fig. 73), but they reconstruct six columns at the back. The measures given by them are 21.1 x 30.8 m. McKenzie, Gibson and Reyes (n. 2) 98, repeated in McKenzie, *Architecture* (n. 2) 195-196, also place the construction of the Roman temple between 181 and 217 CE, whereas S., at pp. xv, 329, is inclined to a date in the first half of the second century.

⁸ Cf. McKenzie, *Architecture* (n. 2) 185-188, for a more positive approach.

⁹ Aphth. *Prog.* 12 (pp. 38-41 Rabe); Ruf. *Hist.* 11.23.

¹⁰ For the reconstruction of the events surrounding the "destruction" of the Serapeum, see especially J. Hahn, *Gewalt und religiöser Konflikt. Studien zu den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Heiden, Christen und Juden im Osten des Römischen Reiches*

The book has been superbly and professionally edited and contains figures and photographs of very high quality. For better accessibility, a French and English summary has been added at the front (pp. xi-xvi). Even though some parts are outdated and retain the style of the original dissertation,¹¹ its principal value lies in the presentation of the Sieglin Expedition material and it is thus a significant contribution to scholarship. The Centre d'Études Alexandrines should be thanked for providing better access to this important study.

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(*von Konstantin bis Theodosius II.*) (Berlin 2004) 78-105; “*Vetustus error extinctus est. Wann wurde das Sarapeion von Alexandria zerstört?*” *Historia* 55 (2006) 368-383, and “The Conversion of the Cult Statues: The Destruction of the Serapeum 392 A.D. and the Transformation of Alexandria into the ‘Christ-Loving’ City,” in J. Hahn, S. Emmel and U. Gotter (eds.), *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Leiden 2008) 335-365, who argues for a date of early 392 CE.

¹¹ E.g. on p. 14 (n. 55) where he gives a list of “other publications” by A. Thiersch, without apparent relevance to the current study. In general, some parts are wordy and could have been condensed.

Steven E. Sidebotham, *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. xvii + 434 pages. ISBN 978-0-520-24430-6.

Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route is the most thorough study of ancient trade on the Red Sea and across the Eastern Desert of Egypt to date, and it will be a long time before any work surpasses it. The massive endnotes and bibliography comprise a third of the volume; the bibliography alone is worth the price of the book. That said, it covers primarily the Ptolemaic through Late Roman periods, with shorter summaries of earlier and later periods, and it ranges far beyond the site of Berenike itself.

Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route is not a site report. It is firmly centered on the question of ancient trade from the perspective of one remote but important frontier port. Only one general map of the site of Berenike is included (Figure 2-1); for anything beyond that the reader will have to go to the extensive season reports.¹ The first two chapters after the Introduction cover, as might be expected, the environment of the Eastern Desert, previous exploration of the desert sites and of Berenike in particular, and pre-Ptolemaic Red Sea trade and exploitation of the desert.

As for Berenike itself, its history is now relatively clear, thanks to decades of excavation and analysis by Sidebotham, Wendrich, and their teams. It was founded by one of the early Ptolemies, probably as one of the ports serving the elephant trade from East Africa. A long section discusses the importance of elephants – the ancient equivalent of modern tanks that were indispensable for countering the Seleucid Indian elephants – and hence the urgency to incur the staggering expense and hardship of capturing the beasts, transporting them by sea in special ships, and marching them across a nearly waterless desert to the Nile. The port of Berenike reached its zenith in the early Roman period, from 30 BC through the early second century AD (p. 60). In the first century AD over a hundred ships per year set out on the long and dangerous voyages

¹ Steven Sidebotham and Willemina Wendrich (eds.), *Berenike '94: Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert* (Leiden 1995); *Berenike '95* (Leiden 1996); *Berenike '96* (Leiden 1998); *Report of the 1997 Excavations at Berenike and the Survey of the Egyptian Eastern Desert, including Excavations at Shenshef* (Leiden 1999); *Report of the 1998 Excavations at Berenike and the Survey of the Egyptian Eastern Desert, including Excavations in Wadi Kalalat* (Leiden 2000); *Berenike 1999/2000: Report on the Excavations at Berenike, including Excavations in Wadi Kalalat and Siket, and the Survey of the Mons Smaragdus Region* (Los Angeles 2007); Steven Sidebotham and Iwona Zych (eds.), *Berenike 2008-2009: Report on the Excavations at Berenike, Including a Survey in the Eastern Desert* (Warsaw 2011).

down the Red Sea, through the Bab el-Mandeb and south to the east coast of Africa or across the Indian Ocean to India. Because of the limited extent of excavations, it is not possible to estimate the size of the population of Berenike in the early Roman period, but Chapter 6 does discuss topics such as the inhabitants, families, the generous and varied food supplies, and religious structures. The third century was a hard time for the Roman empire as a whole, and the remote port of Berenike suffered near total abandonment from the second half of the second century until the middle of the fourth century (pp. 63-66). The last major phase of occupation from the late fourth through fifth centuries and perhaps into the early sixth, or the Late Roman period, is the best documented archaeologically as it is closest to the surface. The population is estimated at roughly 500-1000. During this period the port was renewed, as were many of the old religious structures. The infrastructure, capital, and management to support so many people and animals in the Eastern Desert were not surpassed until the twentieth century. New are the Christian shrines, which apparently functioned side by side with the pagan ones, at least for a while; the squabbling bishops of Alexandria were far away and Constantinople even more remote. The hinterland of Berenike in the Late Roman period included the astonishingly well preserved and well supplied site of Shenshef (see Figure 13-4) as well as settlements at Hitan Rayan and in the Wadi Umm Atlee. Though the *raison d'être* of Shenshef is not known, it is suggested that the latter may be monastic.

Several chapters treat special topics. Water is one, and indeed it is of first importance in a hyperarid desert or along a coast lacking a single freshwater stream or spring from Suez to Aden. Travelers and nomads had to rely mainly on wells or water from rare rain storms trapped in natural basins, though in the Roman period some carefully engineered cisterns and conduits are attested, including the ones that helped supply Berenike and its ships. Roads are another separate topic, and few people know the Eastern Desert tracks better than Sidebotham. The rugged mountains and wadis are crisscrossed with tracks of various degrees of elaboration from the great Via Hadriana down the Red Sea coast to side paths accessible only to pedestrians. The many maps of roads, stations, and water sources are especially valuable here; few readers will have heard of most of these place names. Not only Berenike and sites in its immediate vicinity are discussed and sometimes illustrated with black and white photographs, but all other known Eastern Desert sites, from the well-studied Roman *praesidia* on the Koptos to Red Sea road and the imperial quarries at Mons Claudianus and Mons Porphyrites, to scores of lesser ones, some tiny and only recently discovered.

The chapters on ports other than Berenike and the ships that might have plied the Red Sea are good summaries of available information but add little new information. The lack of archaeologically excavated Red Sea shipwrecks

is particularly regrettable. Although the volume focuses on the seaborne spice trade, the chapter on Roman period trade routes discusses four others as well: the Baltic Amber route, the great Silk Road, the sub-Saharan Salt and Slave route, and the Arabian overland Incense Route. The last of these receives special attention. The Indian end of Roman period trade is far more poorly known than, say, the Mediterranean trade, but it is as comprehensively interwoven into many of the trade discussions as the existing data permit.

The chapter on trade goods recovered at Berenike is thorough and likely to remain the standard for a long time to come. The sections on the emerald (green beryl) mines, the only known source of emeralds within the empire, are based in large part on recent work by the Berenike expedition. Intriguingly, the chapter goes on to consider non-material items of cultural exchange such as loan words and religious concepts. Admittedly, breaking the book down this way makes for a lot of skipping around in time and space and a goodly amount of repetition. For instance, the lone Axumite coin and the cedar and teak ships' timbers reused in buildings recur repeatedly.

The lack of integration of archaeological and textual data is often lamented, but this is hardly the case here; history and textual references are intimately and skillfully interwoven with archaeological excavation and survey data. Not only are the usual suspects (the Greek and Latin authors) cited, but also more far-flung sources, such as the Tamil Sangam poems. Not a single ostrakon or papyrus out of the thousands recovered at Berenike is quoted in full; rather the information on, say, the sale of a donkey is integrated with the discussion of transport animals. Many texts are, however, published elsewhere.² Scholars dealing with those publications, or with any of the other recently recovered corpora of Eastern Desert ostraca for that matter, can surely use *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route* for important contextual information. The book makes much of the multicultural and polyglot makeup of the ancient Berenike populace; not only Egyptian civilians and soldiers from the Nile Valley, but also Nabateans, Palmyrenes, Arabians, Indians, and Axumites are attested. The problem of "Blemmyes" and "Bega" tribes in the Late Roman period is discussed, but so far as Berenike is concerned the desert population is wisely labeled simply as "Eastern Desert dwellers" (p. 267).

In short, *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Trade* is a gold mine of information about the ancient Ptolemaic and Roman trade systems and routes that linked three continents; trade goods and their relative costs; Eastern Desert sites, resources, and peoples; and, oh yes, Berenike itself.

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² Roger S. Bagnall, Christina Helms, and Arthur M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Documents from Berenike*, Vol. I: *Greek Ostraca from the 1996-1998 Seasons* (Brussels 2000); *Documents from Berenike*, Vol. II: *Texts from the 1999-2001 Seasons* (Brussels 2005).

Richard J.A. Talbert, *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered*, in association with Tom Elliott, assisted by Nora Harris, Gannon Hubbard, David O'Brien and Graham Shepherd, with a contribution by Martin Steinmann. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. xviii + 357 pages. ISBN 978-0-521-76480-3.

Any author of a scholarly book tends to think that it is something new and extraordinary. However, T(albert)'s claim that up to the publication of his book about the Peutinger Map (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, henceforth *TP*) – the only existing medieval copy of an ancient world map – “no full scale presentation and analysis had appeared since World War I” (p. xiii) does not conform to the facts. The 1976 edition of the map by the present reviewer¹ is at least a “full scale presentation,” and Luciano Bosio's book from 1983² is without doubt a profound “analysis.” But T. rightly points out that the majority of scholars still use the old edition by Miller,³ which is based on the drawings of Christoph Scheyb and Salomon Kleiner, published as early as 1753. This should now become obsolete, since T. has put a digital version of the complete *TP* on the internet,⁴ so that his book also has the character of an accompanying text.

The work comprises five extensive chapters and a conclusion, the latter dealing with the place of the *TP* in ancient and medieval cartography and seeking traces of the *TP*, and possibly also of lost copies, in medieval literature.

The first chapter discusses the history and the various publications of the extant copy, from the *editio princeps* by Markus Welser in Johannes Moretus'

¹ Ekkehard Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324* (Graz 1976). T.'s claim that with my (1 : 1, that is “full scale”) facsimile edition “color photographs had eventually been published” (p. xiii; my italics) is, however, misleading; in the 1930s color photographs were made at the request of Benito Mussolini, which were published by Annalina and Mario Levi, *La “Tabula Peutingeriana”* (Roma 1978). Admittedly, the colors of those days will hardly meet modern standards.

² Luciano Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana, una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico* (Rimini 1983).

³ Konrad Miller, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius, genannt die Peutingersche Tafel* (Ravensburg 1887), and *Die Peutingersche Tafel* (Ravensburg 1888, enlarged edition Stuttgart 1916, followed by several reprints). An English version is *Map of the World by Castorius Generally Known as Peutinger's Tabula* (London and Edinburgh 1892).

⁴ www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/index.html. Since the former *rotulus* was dispersed in 1863, the single sheets show slight contortions, so that they do not fit together any longer; but this does not affect research. The *TP* without scholarly commentary can be found at euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger and directly from the Austrian National Library (OeNB) at data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00161171 (including the backs of the single sheets).

officina in Antwerp in 1581 up to the editions of the 19th and 20th centuries. He quotes the well known letter of Prince Eugene of Savoy to the imperial director of antiquities (“Hofantiquar”) Karl Gustav Heraeus in Vienna from September 20th, 1717 (28, plate 6),⁵ although he omits a similar letter to Baron Cornberg, *Inspecteur des Antiquités* in Regensburg (Bavaria), published some years ago.⁶ Both these letters testify that Prince Eugene had evidently more than one agent at his service, who directed his attention to interesting antiquities and old manuscripts. T. rightly points out the outstanding work done by Scheyb, who was repeatedly criticized for real or imagined mistakes, but who nevertheless provided the basis for all editions up to Miller at the end of 19th century, all amendments amounting, at best, to a few individual corrections and the addition of indexes.

The second chapter, written by Martin Steinmann, deals with the material, state of preservation, and paleography of the surviving copy. Of some interest is his observation that the small rectangular holes found on the map (“attention has not been drawn to them previously,” 74) result from a former nailing of the parchment, to a wall he thinks; but since the *rotulus* was likely rolled around a wooden stick or cylinder in Medieval times (and hardly nailed to a wooden wall), I am inclined to think that the sheets were fixed with nails on a table or pulpit to facilitate the work of copying. As for the description of single letters and words, these would be easier to understand if illustrations or drawings of the items in question were also provided; it is quite laborious to check each of them on the internet, and even more so as the grid T. uses is explained only in Appendix 7 (196-197).⁷ The mark *co* for “one mile” is misinterpreted (82):

⁵ Let me briefly mention that, though T. highly praises me in an undeserved way (p. xv), he does not acknowledge the source of his plate 1, which he evidently took directly from my edition of 1976 (Abb. 1); instead, he writes, “Foto Archiv der Universität Wien.” The same has happened with plates 2 und 6; plate 5 is from my article “Das ‘Verkaufsinsert’ der Tabula Peutingeriana aus dem Jahr 1715. Ein kleiner Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte,” in Ulrich Fellmeth, Peter Guyot und Holger Sonnabend (eds.), *Historische Geographie der Alten Welt. Grundlagen, Erträge, Perspektiven. Festgabe für Eckart Olshausen* (Hildesheim and New York 2007) 367-379, for which I asked the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München for permission. Georg Olms Verlag has not provided a satisfactory answer as to why they gave their permission to Prof. Talbert without contacting me (or the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). All these pictures can also be found on the internet, without any indication of their source.

⁶ This second letter was originally published in a review of my edition of 1976 by Eva Irblich, *Jahrbuch des Vorarlberger Landesmuseumsvereins* 1978/79, 495. But I also referred to it in “Das ‘Verkaufsinsert’” (cited in n. 5), an article which T. knows well.

⁷ As I have done in my edition, T. indicates the single points by three coordinates, but in a slightly different way. First the number of the sheet (1-11) in Arabic numbers,

this is not an uncial *m*, but represents the sign ∞ (originally Φ) as a symbol for *mille* ("thousand," scil. *passus* = 1 mile), and T. is quite right when he states that "its use on the map has needlessly confused commentators" (102). As for the drawings and the writing, I do not believe that they were produced by the same hand; the occasional omission of toponyms on the one hand and of necessary drawings on the other rather seems to indicate that in copying their model at least two different persons worked independently from each other.

Chapter three is concerned with the design and purpose of the *TP*, or rather with its ancient original.⁸ Why T. thinks that the view, which he shares, that the *TP* represents the copy of a Roman map, with all the errors and changes due to time and space, is only an "unverifiable assumption" (86), is hard to understand. Design and content clearly point to an origin in Roman antiquity, especially when the *TP* is compared with Medieval, Western and Arab, maps, and so do the (even somewhat distant) relationships with the *Itinerarium Antonini* and to the Ravenna Cosmographer. Furthermore, in chapter four T. himself aims at the "recovery of the original map from the surviving copy." Equally difficult to understand is T.'s claim that "the design of the map is a topic that has been virtually ignored to date" (86). The close relation to the map of Agrippa was already pointed out in my edition of 1976 and has been referred to again later (though T. does not believe in it). On the other hand, T. quite rightly stresses the propagandistic rather than practical value of the *TP*, or rather of its ancient original.

Miller's laborious reconstruction of a single missing front sheet has never been "widely accepted" by scholars (87), and Miller had to fend off strong criticism already in his own days. The idea (138-139) that the original first page held a dedication – possibly indeed the poem preserved by *Dicuil*?⁹ – has already been advanced in my edition, and so has the idea that the symbol of Rome originally held the central position in the map (88-89). T. claims that the geographical details – coastal lines, rivers, and mountains – are more than

then the letters A, B and C for the upper, medial, and lower region, and again Arabic numbers (1-5) for the five sections into which each sheet (since Miller) is divided. Miller had numbered the sheets from II to XII, being convinced that only one sheet is missing at the beginning.

⁸ T. states, "No such detailed analysis of the map ... has ever been attempted" (86), again ignoring a large part of the work done before him. Even if he does not accept some of the different published ideas ("general map for the *cursus publicus*," "map for Christian pilgrims"), this does not justify his claim that no one has ever dealt with this problem.

⁹ *Anthologia Latina* 2.2 (ed. Alexander Riese 1864) 724.

simple decorations,¹⁰ but he admits that “lakes would appear to be a landscape feature of minimal concern to the mapmaker” (105). However, I agree with his view that the network of the routes “is an ambitious, original creation” (108). On the meaning of the symbols (“vignettes”) crucial work has been done by Annalina and Mario Levi,¹¹ and it is a clear step backwards to question their results (118-123).

In the two following chapters, which constitute the core of his work, T. develops the hypothesis that the ancient original was the product of imperial propaganda about AD 300, an idea which he tries to support by pointing to the manner in which the emperors are represented in contemporary iconography and panegyrics (149-153). Because Christians were persecuted until 312/3, T. is forced to assume that the various allusions and references to Christianity in the *TP* are “post-original,” whatever that means. It is inconceivable that the representation of Rome, clearly based on the *Chronographer of 354*, with St. Peter’s Church (!), of Constantinople (founded in 330) with the “burnt pillar” and the Sycae Church (Pera-Galata), and, finally, of Antioch, based on the Tyche of Eutychides, again with a church, date from before the time of Constantine.¹² But even more so, the overall concept of *TP*’s assumed ancient model does not fit the political situation at the time of the Tetrarchy at all. The position of the imperial residences Nicomedia and Thessalonica are indicated only by the symbol of the “city walls,” a sign of their being of lesser importance, as T. himself notices (153). Moreover Milan and Trier in the West are distinguished only by the modest symbol of the “double towers,” and if the symbol for Ravenna is taken to point to a special position of the place, then we have to take into account that this was gained only in 402, when it became an imperial residence.

¹⁰ So already in Talbert, “Peutinger’s Roman Map: the Physical Landscape,” in: Michael Rathmann (ed.), *Wahrnehmung und Erfassung geographischer Räume in der Antike* (Mainz 2007) 221-230. By the way, T. substitutes the letter *u* from the *TP*, also if written in a cursive manner, as a matter of principle with *v*, even with abbreviations in brackets; e.g. Port(vs) Calovitanvs, 5A3 (102; cf. page 8, pt. iii of the “Presentation”). However, the original has clearly Port(us) Calonitanus (a simple error for Salonitanus, as *Salona* is written directly above it).

¹¹ Annalina and Mario Levi, *Itineraria picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana* (Rome 1967). Though some modifications may be possible, there is no doubt that the basic idea – namely that the major part of the symbols (not all of them!) are indications of the accommodation facilities, not of the importance of the location itself – is correct.

¹² For these Christian influences see Ekkehard Weber, “Die Spuren des frühen Christentums in der Tabula Peutingeriana,” in: Reinhardt Harreither u.a. (eds.), *Acta Congressus Internationalis XIV Archaeologiae Christianae*, Studi di antichità cristiana 62 (Città del Vaticano 2006) 775-781, with detailed discussion.

Every map (maybe with the exception of modern satellite-based reproductions) is based on a previous model, and the latest edition cannot be older than the most recent details in the copy, and in the *TP* the most recent details are Theodosian rather than tetrarchic. A more likely period for the last edition of the ancient original of the *TP* is therefore the early 5th century, a period of imperial “nostalgia” when the *Codex Theodosianus* (438) and, very likely, the last revision of the *Notitia Dignitatum* were made. Moreover, in this period other geographical literature was produced as well, and in 435 Theodosius II ordered two *famuli* – *dum scribit pingit et alter* (“while one of them writes the other paints”) – to work on the drawing of a world map.¹³ As some of the symbols used in the *TP*, like the “city walls” and the “temple,” are very similar to those used in the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, executed under pope Sixtus III (432–440), the last edition of the ancient original of the *TP* should be dated to the time of Theodosius II.¹⁴

In discussing this problem, it has to be kept in mind that we have to distinguish at least three different stages of the *TP*: the original design of the map with the dominant position of Italy and Rome confronting Carthage, which corresponds with the Augustan period¹⁵ and is hardly conceivable in another period; the insertion of roads and distances, impossible before the imperial Roman road system had reached an advanced stage; and a last revision, at all events not possible before the second half of the 4th century. When T. writes, “when the design of such a large and powerful map ignores Christian thinking so thoroughly, any dating from the fourth century onwards seems less and less likely as time advances” (135), he deliberately confounds the design of the map, its basic geographic pattern, with its later contents. On the contrary: as we undoubtedly have Christian (and other Late Antique) details on the map, the

¹³ See *Dicuil*’s poem, note 9. T. knows of this map, but thinks that it is lost (128). It could not have been a “wholly original creation” (139), because the *famuli* clearly state that *in melius reparamus opus culpamque priorum tollimus*, “we amended the work and deleted the errors of our predecessors” (vv. 10–11).

¹⁴ See Levi (note 11); in my 1976 edition and in “Zur Datierung der Tabula Peutingeriana,” in: *Labor omnibus unus. Festschrift für Gerold Walser* (Stuttgart 1989) 113–117 (and occasionally afterwards). Miller dated the ancient original to 365/6, based on his strange assumption that the three personifications of Rome, Constantinople and Antioch signify the Roman emperors Valentinian, Valens, and the usurper Procopius; this dating was uncritically taken over (sometimes in more general terms) in most handbooks and encyclopedias.

¹⁵ We must remember that Livy’s work with its full-scale narrative of the Punic Wars was published at this time, as was Virgil’s *Aeneid* (by direct order of the emperor Augustus in 19 BC) with its touching story about the Carthaginian queen Dido.

later the date the better. Why does T. expect “Christian thinking” in the *design* of the map, in addition to the explicitly Christian details in it.¹⁶

It may be useful to discuss some further details. T. sees remarkable similarities with the Severan marble plan of Rome.¹⁷ This is correct, insofar as this marble plan attests geographical (or rather cartographical) efforts in early 3rd century Rome, and should have made him cautious in dating the ancient original of the *TP* a century later. He rejects the map of Agrippa as a model for the *TP* in spite of the fact that the design of the *TP* seems to represent a world view typical of the Augustan period, including the ideology of peace and public security, which T. claims for the Tetrarchs (149-153). Some of the descriptions found in Pomponius Mela and Pliny – e.g. the Persian Gulf or the Caspian Sea – read as if they were directly inspired by the *TP*.¹⁸ It is more than likely that the map of Agrippa was the one most familiar to the public, because it was attached to a *porticus* in the center of Rome and therefore in all probability of a longish shape, exactly like the *TP*.¹⁹ Evidently, the imperial road network was not yet part of the map of Agrippa, and it was probably inserted under the Severans, at a time when the *Itinerarium Antonini* was made and when the numbering of distances in *leugae* was reestablished in Gaul, which we again find in the *TP*. So, we have a map from the time of Augustus of a shape that seems to have been like the *TP*, a road-network from the early 3rd century that seems to have been the blueprint of what we find on the *TP*, and we are told that two *famuli* worked on a world map in 435; and in the *TP* we have a medieval copy of an ancient map which evidently shows traces of all these various stages, with the latest revision, even on stylistic grounds, being

¹⁶T. himself claims that most of these Christian details are to be found in places “otherwise empty on the original map” (126). If they really were “post-original” (medieval, or whatever) *additions*, it is more likely that extra space was created for them.

¹⁷The claim that “[d]espite the very different character ... its cartographic design and presentation correspond to a surprising degree with those of the map” (134) is perhaps slightly exaggerated, given the sparse fragments of the Roman marble plan preserved. Cf. even Talbert, “Rome’s Marble Plan and Peutinger’s Map: Continuity in Cartographic Design,” in: Franziska Beutler and Wolfgang Hameter (eds.), “Eine ganz normale Inschrift“ (zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber) (Wien 2005) 627-634.

¹⁸Ekkehard Weber, “Pomponius Mela und die Tabula Peutingeriana,” in: Karl Strobel and Renate Lafer (eds.), *Die Geschichte der Antike aktuell: Methoden, Ergebnisse und Rezeption (Akten Althistorikertag Klagenfurt 2002)* (Klagenfurt-Laibach-Wien 2005) 231-240.

¹⁹Emilio Rodríguez Almeida, *Topografía e vita romana: da Augusto a Costantino* (Rome 2001) 23-31.

impossible before the second half of the 4th century.²⁰ Roman administrative texts were usually handed down the centuries, and so it is most unlikely that under Diocletian, just for propagandistic reasons, a totally new map containing the Roman and foreign road network was created *ab ovo*, independent from existing models.

Finally, if the original had been in the apse of an imperial hall in the way imagined by T. (see 149 with fig. 6), then neither roads nor locations nor even the different areas would have been clearly visible to the viewer.

Appendices 1-4 present a choice of scholarly introductions to the *TP* from different time periods and of varying significance. Appendix 5 deals with Miller's reconstruction of the missing front part, and appendix 6 with the alleged discovery of a fragment by Johann Hugo Wyttenbach in 1835. Appendices 7-9 contain various user guides to the digitized version of the *TP*.

T. certainly deserves our gratitude for having made the *TP* digitally accessible to the scholarly community and for having provided a detailed commentary. On the other hand it is to be regretted that his "radical, not to say provocative, departure from established opinion" (7, in his introduction) detracts from his achievement.

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²⁰ The symbol of the "city walls," for example, does not occur on coins before Constantine (cf. *RIC* 7 [1966] 162, n.1, plate 3), but it can be found as an illustration in the *Vergilius Vaticanus* (Lat. 3225 f. 35 v., about AD 400) and frequently in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (last revision likely between 425 and 433).

Ewa Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IVe-VIIIe siècles)*. Journal of Juristic Papyrology, Supplements 11. Warszawa: Faculty of Law and Administration and Institute of Archaeology and Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga 2009. xxiii + 687 pages + 1 folding plate. ISBN 978-83-925919-0-0.

Ewa Wipszycka (W.) offers here the first handbook on early Egyptian monasticism. Although she leaves the “spiritual” dimension largely out of consideration, everything readers of *BASP* need to know to understand the realities of monastic life in late antique Egypt is discussed somewhere between the covers of her book. Since there is no index of subjects, readers should pay close attention to the table of contents (pp. vii-ix) to familiarize themselves with the structure of the book. There are copious indexes of sources, persons, and places, and those who want to consult the handbook merely for a specific detail can easily find their way around. A number of earlier contributions by W. have been incorporated into the book (they are listed on pp. 5-6, n. 1), which is a kind of *summa* of her thinking and publishing on the topic over the past 25 years.¹

As expected in a real handbook, W. opens with a lengthy review of the sources. Pride of place goes to the literary sources (chapter 1, pp. 9-67), which are not in short supply: to understand the realities of monastic life, we need a coherent picture first, before we can put the fragmentary evidence in its proper context. We happen to have a large number of literary texts, some written to provide foreigners with an idea of monastic life in Egypt (e.g. the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*), some prescriptive to regulate life in monasteries, especially those of the Pachomian type.² W. stresses the obvious limitations of such evidence: the former will exaggerate features of Egyptian monasticism their authors are particularly keen on “selling” to their audiences; the latter will aim at an ideal to which reality did not always correspond – and the realities of monastic life in Egypt is W.’s subject, not its ideals, let alone its imitations in other cultures. Although W. comes to the subject as a papyrologist, she acknowledges that, apart from some “archives,” papyri (and even more so inscriptions) are a limited source of information (chapter 2, pp. 69-106), often hard to contextualize, locate, or even date. She expects more from ongo-

¹ Earlier, her *Études sur le christianisme dans l’Égypte de l’Antiquité tardive* (Roma 1996) had provided such a *summa* of her work on Christianity written between 1970 and 1995.

² Rousseau’s book on Pachomius (mentioned on p. 47, footnote 39) was re-issued with a new preface in 1999.

ing archaeological projects, which in recent years have indeed thrown much light on the various types of Egyptian monasticism, including some less well represented in the literary sources.

One of the great features of W.'s handbook are the archaeological illustrations in the text, especially in the geographical chapter (chapter 3, pp. 107-225), the largest in the book. I single out the maps of monastic complexes (such as Bawit; the fold-out map, "un document sans précédent dans l'histoire de l'archéologie du monachisme égyptien" [p. 147], is based on the latest geophysical research by T. Herbig and not only corrects the older maps in many places, but also gives us for the first time a sense of the site as a whole), the plans of monastic buildings, and the photos (some in color; especially striking is the one of Deir el-Balaizah on p. 159) of the visible remains of, and of objects retrieved in, monastic sites. Many illustrations come with a lengthy caption, which often tells a story worth reading on its own. Most are taken from other sources, but quite a few were specifically made for this handbook (e.g. the ones illustrating the outfit of the monks according to Evagrius, John Cassian, and iconographical sources respectively on pp. 376-378, provided by M. Mossakowska-Gaubert), and readers should be especially grateful to W. for having extracted as yet unpublished materials (e.g. on the latrine for 40 visitors at Shenoute's "White Monastery"; see p. 164) from a variety of scholars. Inclusion of such materials allows the handbook to last for years, before it is outdated as far as the archaeological sources are concerned (this is even less of a problem with the papyrological, let alone the literary, sources). Only occasionally one would have liked an illustration to have been printed at a larger size (e.g., the fold-out map of Bawit).

The papyrological evidence starts quite early on in the fourth century. There are various fourth-century dossiers, consisting mainly of letters. That C. Zuckerman's identification of the John in a bilingual dossier with John of Lycopolis is widely accepted (p. 83) should be taken with a grain of salt. One of Zuckerman's props (the identification of the find) is completely arbitrary.³ On the ostraca from Theban Tomb 29 see now A. Boud'hors and C. Heurtel, *Les ostraca coptes de la TT 29* (Brussels 2010). For a review of the evidence for monastic settlements in the area of the First Cataract, not given here, see J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion* (Leuven 2008). The chapter on Antony (chapter 4, pp. 227-280) is a kind of appendix to the geographical chapter and draws heavily on several earlier contributions by W.

³ See my remark in the *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Wien 2007) 711, n. 32; on the acquisition of the dossier see now N. Gonis, *BASP* 45 (2008) 70-72.

(in *Études et Travaux* 15 [1990] 459-463, *Divitiae Aegypti* [1995] 337-348, *JJP* 27 [1997] 135-166, and *Aegyptus Christiana* [2004] 135-150).

The terminology of monastic life (cf. *JJP* 31 [2001] 147-168) is addressed in the next chapter (chapter 5, pp. 281-323). W. shows that a term like *anachoretēs* ("deserter") developed into a honorific title over time and that an early term like *apotaktikos* ("renouncing," e.g. possessions as in monasteries of the Pachomian type) by no means implied renouncing everything under the sun (pp. 315-316). As a kind of appendix to this chapter, W. discusses the role of the "Supreme Leader" in monasteries of the Pachomian type (chapter 6, pp. 325-353), as exemplified by Shenoute. The importance of succession of the leadership in the context of schisms is already apparent in *P.Lond.* 6.1913. As expected, W. pays some qualifiedly optimistic attention to the level of monastic literacy (pp. 361-365) in her chapter on monks other than the "Supreme Leader" himself (chapter 7, pp. 355-401). On the *History of the Monks of Upper Egypt* (briefly mentioned on p. 367) see now extensively Dijkstra, *Philae*, chapters 7-8.

In her discussion of the numerical strength of monasteries (chapter 8, pp. 403-436; cf. *JJP* 35 [2005] 265-309), W. consistently deflates the few numbers occasionally given in literary sources and also lowers the estimates based on archaeological remains (e.g. at the Kellia; admittedly not all of the ca. 1,500 hermitages were strictly contemporary). W. judiciously addresses the issue of the presence of clerics among the monks in chapter 9 (pp. 437-469; cf. *JJP* 26 [1996] 135-166), which would have been increasingly unavoidable.

The economic chapter (chapter 10, pp. 471-565) is the second-largest in the book. W. came to the topic of the Egyptian monasteries through her early work on the economic aspects of the Kellia (cf. *Le site monastique copte des Kellia* [1986] 117-144; cf. *JJP* 31 [2001] 169-186). Here she adds the monasteries of the Pachomian type (cf. *JJP* 26 [1996] 167-210), where evidence for joint labor is to be expected. On pp. 556-565 W. discusses the *aparache* in *P.Mon.Apoll.* as she did earlier in the 2001 article just mentioned but with an update on the criticisms of A. Delattre and T.S. Richter.

Chapter 11 (pp. 567-611) deals with female ascetics (cf. *Le rôle et le statut de la femme* [2002] 355-396). There were monasteries for women associated with one for men of the Pachomian type, such as that of Shenoute (now identified with the monastery in the temple at Wannina; see pp. 166-167). In general female ascetics appear rarely in the sources (see now M.J. Albarrán Martínez, *Studia Monastica* 52 [2010]), and even so no use here is made of *P.Paramone* 14. The last chapter (chapter 12, pp. 613-650) deals with the dangers of monas-

tic life, especially coming from desert tribes such as the Mazici, on which see also F. Colin, *Les peuples libyens de la Cyrénaïque à l'Égypte* (Brussels 2000).⁴

As is appropriate in the case of a handbook there is no formal conclusion. Papyrologists will want to consult W's handbook through the index of papyri (and inscriptions) on pp. 663-668 and especially the index of place names on pp. 668-685, because it will guide them to the geographical chapter, the core of the handbook. It deserves unqualified praise and a wide circulation.

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⁴ A curious typo on p. 633, n. 30: for "A Cult of Ibis at Philae after Justinian?" read "A Cult of Isis at Philae after Justinian?" The ibis cult had not been practiced anywhere for centuries.

Eva Mira Grob, *Documentary Arabic Private and Business Letters on Papyrus: Form and Function, Content and Context*. Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Beiheft 29. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010. xxi + 269 pages. ISBN 978-3-11-024704-6.

Grob introduces and summarizes her work as follows: “This survey is the first monograph devoted to documentary Arabic letters, based on all available editions of Arabic private and business letters on papyrus. It contributes to the fields of Arabic papyrology and wider studies, compiling insights of the Arabic papyrology pioneers and presenting entirely new perspectives” (p. 207). Indeed, this technical volume is an important contribution to the study of Arabic papyri in general and non-official letters in particular. The volume does not produce new editions of Arabic papyrus letters, but greatly facilitates the task of deciphering and interpreting such texts. By grouping and analyzing the epistolary formulae attested in almost all private and business letters published so far and by quoting many examples, including entire texts, from the original letters in the main text and the footnotes, Grob provides a useful tool with which to tackle unedited texts. Although the author is not the first to deal with this topic, her study is substantially more comprehensive and detailed than any preceding treatment (pp. xv-xvi).

The volume comprises five chapters, in addition to the introduction and the summary. The introduction (pp. xiii-xix) gives a general overview of the letters, as well as a description of the methodology and central questions of the study. In the first chapter (pp. 1-21), the author provides an overview of the number of published letters in all volumes, catalogues, and articles with their distribution over the period of discussion (first to fourth/seventh to tenth centuries). The second chapter (pp. 23-83) is devoted to the different epistolary formulae used in the letters. In this chapter, Grob proposes a new handy terminology (p. 33 [n. 20]). The issue of pragmatics is dealt with in chapter three (pp. 85-126), providing very important and interesting information on how the letters were written, sent and read, and on literacy and privacy in early Islamic Egypt. Although these details are never explicitly mentioned in the letters, Grob ably demonstrates how such information emerges from reading between the lines. Chapter four (pp. 127-158) covers the language of the letters, discussing all common orthographical and morphological peculiarities. Grob argues in this chapter that the letters show macro-structural features and not orthography, and she strongly supports the concept of “Documentary standard” over “Middle Arabic” to describe the language of the letters (pp. 156-158). This chapter also provides new views on the use of the particle *qad* and the personal pronoun *anā* in the letters (pp. 138-155). In the final chapter (pp.

159-206), the author shows the development of the script from a less cursive tendency in the first to second/seventh to eighth centuries to progressing cursiveness in the third to fourth/ninth to tenth centuries. Grob also offers new techniques on measuring the cursiveness of the script and thereby reaching a more accurate dating system on the basis of the script. In this chapter, issues such as the dimensions of sheets, the arrangement of the text within the letter, and other things of this nature are also discussed. The volume closes with a summary (pp. 207-209), appendices (pp. 211-232), glossary of terms (pp. 233-238), two indexes – one for subjects (pp. 239-249) and the other for quoted editions (pp. 251-254) – and finally a bibliography (pp. 255-269).

There is no question that this study is the most exhaustive treatment of the subject to date. It combines, studies and analyzes roughly 350 Arabic edited letters covering the first four centuries of Muslim rule in Egypt, but focusing mainly on the third/ninth century (pp. xiv, 2). Studying such a large number of documents requires a high degree of scholarly competence, energy and patience. Nevertheless, the number of unpublished letters surpasses this number by the hundreds. Many of these unpublished letters are freely accessible on the websites of papyrus collections. The study does not only exclude unpublished material, but also some published letters, which lack either a translation or a full edition (pp. 1 [n. 4], 2, 18). While the author should be commended for the breadth of her work, these oversights occasionally result in misleading conclusions, especially concerning letters from the first two centuries of Islam, as will be shown below.

Moreover, although the author admits that many letters need to be re-assigned a different date of composition, she retains the primary editors' dating of texts without checking and, if necessary, correcting them (pp. 7, 11).

Additionally, while the language, phraseology, formulae, script, layout, and format of the letters received the lion's share of the author's interest, she pays insufficient attention to the letters' contents (pp. 90-93). Readers might have expected the author to have devoted a chapter to the kinds of topics dealt with by the letter writers, which to a great extent can be grouped and analyzed in a way similar to the other subjects addressed in this book.

Some other points of critique should be pointed out as well. On page 13, Grob talks about Coptic-Arabic papyrus protocols (without providing an exact reference), but one has to wonder whether this type of protocol really exists. Incontrovertibly, some Coptic texts appear on the first page of the papyrus roll below some Arabic protocols, but this does not make them part of the protocols. Furthermore, the author's discussion of the presence of an internal address or prescript is confusing. On p. 39, Grob argues that no internal address is given in private and business letters after the turn of the second/eighth

century, and on p. 41 she affirms that the change of letters with prescripts to letters without prescripts was abrupt. But on p. 42 she says: "The existence or absence of the internal address is an important device for dating letters. But unfortunately, this important change did not take place sharply around the turn of the 2nd/8th to the 3rd/9th century. There are letters without internal address dating probably from before the 3rd/9th c., and some with internal address from the 3rd/9th century." In contrast, on p. 83 she states: "Mandatory parts are in letters of the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries: *Basmala*, *prescript* and *final blessings*. In the letters of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, the mandatory *prescript* is replaced by a mandatory *initial blessings* section." One would like to have conclusive evidence: Was there a transitional period between letters with and without a prescript or not? Do letters with prescripts exist after the turn of the second/eighth century or did they totally disappear at that time? These questions are difficult to answer, owing to the fact that in comparison to the letters without prescripts, very few letters with prescripts remain, and most of those are difficult to date exactly. However, two unpublished letters with a prescript, belonging to al-Mufaḍḍal b. Faḍḍāla (d. 252/866), the grandson of the judge al-Mufaḍḍal b. Faḍḍāla (in office 168-169/784-786 and 174-177/790-793), suggest that the letters with prescripts indeed continued to be used in the first half of the third/ninth century.¹

Besides the familiar *salām* greeting *salāmun 'alayka* or "peace be upon you," which Grob records on p. 40 as a basic element of the prescript, the archaic formula *silmun anta*, "being at peace," appears in an unpublished letter from the second/eighth century.² It has been suggested that this formula predates Islam and that it was replaced by the familiar greeting *salāmun 'alayka* with the advent of Islam, owing to the fact that the latter is a typical Qur'ānic expression.³

For a long time Arabic papyrologists have believed that private and business letters never carried a full date in their texts (pp. 49, 207). The publication of a private letter sent from a man to four female relatives dated to the twenty-fourth (six nights remaining) of Dhū al-Qa'da of the year 102/721 should change this assumption.⁴ On p. 88, Grob argues that women's letters were not written by the senders themselves in most cases, but by a third party, indicating the high level of illiteracy among women. While this is true, Grob fails to

¹ P.Cam.Michaelides A 1368r, P.CtYBR. inv. 2681(B), to be published by the reviewer.

² P.Cam.Michaelides A Q 22, to be published by the reviewer.

³ Werner Diem, "Arabic Letters in Pre-Modern Times. A Survey with Commented Selected Bibliographies," *Asiatische Studien* 62/3 (2008) 843-883, at pp. 860-861.

⁴ Yūsuf Rāḡib, "Une lettre familiale rédigée en 102/721," *Annales Islamologiques* 45 (2011) 273-284; see also *P.Mird* 52.4-5, dated Dhū al-Hijja, 126/October, 744.

mention that this third person could also be another, literate, woman – more precisely a professional woman scribe (*P.Khalili* 1.17.13, 3rd/9th).

Finally, the marginal notes that appear on the *recto* are explained by Grob (p. 179) to have been due to a general aversion to continue the letter on the *verso*. In my view this is not strictly true. I would argue rather that the writing in the margins was part of the new style of writing letters that became dominant in the third/ninth century resulting in radical changes in formulae and layout, such as replacing the prescript with initial blessings and the tendency toward cursiveness in writing. This hypothesis can be supported on a number of grounds. In the first place, letters with marginal notes are too numerous to be considered exceptional. Secondly, these marginal notes are not always notes or afterthoughts, but in most cases simply continue the main text. In other words, the margins were taken into account as writing space from the onset of writing the letter. However, Grob rejects this notion based only on the evidence of two examples (pp. 179-180). Thirdly, early letters with prescripts datable to the first-second/seventh-eighth centuries are sometimes continued on the *verso*, but never in the margins on the *recto*. Finally, these marginal notes follow a set pattern: after exhausting the proper space on the *recto*, the scribe starts writing in the right hand margin from the top downwards, then in the left hand margin from the bottom upwards. Marginal notes in the top margin are very rare, but normally run parallel to the main text either in the same direction or upside down (p. 179). Surely, all of these common features cannot be seen as mere coincidence.

In spite of these minor criticism, Grob's book is an impressive and much needed step forward in the study of Arabic papyrus and paper letters. It is successful in studying the Arabic private and business letters as one corpus and thereby offering new insights in the process of letter writing in medieval Egypt. The volume will be of interest to anyone struggling to edit new Arabic papyrus and paper letters, but also for those interested in historical matters and epistolography both of the medieval Islamic period and in general. A logical next step would be a comprehensive and systematic study of the contents of these letters, using them as the great source for social, cultural and economic history of early Islamic Egypt that they are.

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